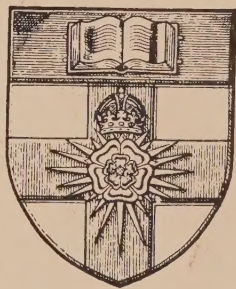


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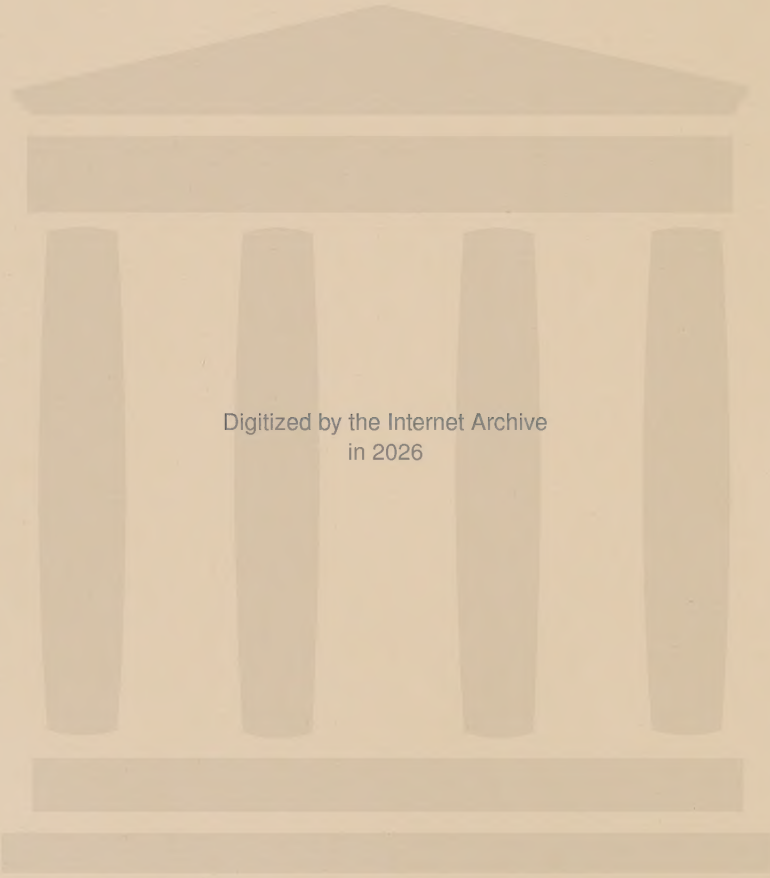
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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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Committee of Publication.

HENRY CABOT LODGE.

ARTHUR LORD.

EDWARD STANWOOD.

WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD.



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Charles F. Berraitch

Massachusetts Historical Society

Founded 1791

PROCEEDINGS

OCTOBER, 1922 — JUNE, 1923

VOLUME LVI

Published at the Charge of the Peabody Fund



Boston

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY

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OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

APRIL 12, 1923.

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EDWARD STANWOOD BROOKLINE.

Corresponding Secretary

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Librarian

JULIUS HERBERT TUTTLE DEDHAM.

Cabinet-Keeper

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PAUL REVERE FROTHINGHAM BOSTON.

FRANCIS RUSSELL HART BOSTON.

ROBERT GRANT BOSTON.

CHESTER NOYES GREENOUGH CAMBRIDGE.

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---	---

1905.

Theodore Clarke Smith, Ph.D.
Henry Greenleaf Pearson, A.B.
Bliss Perry, LL.D.

1906.

Edwin Doak Mead, A.M.
Mark Antony DeWolfe Howe, Litt.
D.

1907.

Jonathan Smith, A.B.
Albert Matthews, A.B.
William Vail Kellen, LL.D.

1908.

Frederic Winthrop, A.B.
George Lyman Kittredge, LL.D.
Charles Pelham Greenough, LL.B.

1909.

Worthington Chauncey Ford, LL.D.
William Coolidge Lane, A.B.

1910.

Hon. Samuel Walker McCall, LL.D.
John Collins Warren, M.D., LL.D.
Harold Murdock, A. M.
Edward Waldo Emerson, M.D.
Frederick Jackson Turner, LL.D.
Gardner Weld Allen, M.D.

1911.

George Hubbard Blakeslee, Ph.D.
Richard Henry Dana, LL.B.
Rev. George Foot Moore, LL.D.
Gamaliel Bradford, Litt.D.

1912.

John Spencer Bassett, Ph.D.
Malcolm Storer, M.D.

1913.

Hon. Charles Grenfill Washburn,
A.B.

1914.

Zachary Taylor Hollingsworth, Esq.
Chester Noyes Greenough, Ph.D.
Joseph Grafton Minot, Esq.
Samuel Eliot Morison, Ph.D.
Ellery Sedgwick, A.B.

1915.

William Crowninshield Endicott,
A.B.
Rev. Paul Revere Frothingham,
D.D.
Hon. Robert Grant, Litt.D.
George Parker Winship, Litt.D.
Julius Herbert Tuttle, Esq.

1916.

Ferris Greenslet, Ph.D.
Rev. Charles Edwards Park, D.D.
Francis Apthorp Foster, Esq.
Frederick Cheever Shattuck, M.D.,
LL.D.

1917.

William Sumner Appleton, A.B.
Charles Lemuel Nichols, M.D.,
Litt.D.
Lawrence Park, Esq.
Hon. John Adams Aiken, LL.D.

1918.

William Bradford Homer Dowse,
LL.B.
William Sturgis Bigelow, M.D.
Russell Gray, A.M.
Hon. Arthur Prentice Rugg, LL.D.
Hon. Nathan Matthews, LL.D.

1919.

John Woodford Farlow, M.D.
Charles Francis Adams, LL.B.
Robert Gould Shaw, A.M.
Fred Norris Robinson, Ph.D.
Lawrence Shaw Mayo, A.M.

1920. Edward Gray, A.B. Fitz-Henry Smith, Jr., LL.B. Francis Russell Hart, Esq. Robert Means Lawrence, M.D. Rev. Henry Bradford Washburn, D.D.	William Bennett Munro, LL.D. Robert Lincoln O'Brien, Litt.D. Charles Allerton Coolidge, Arts D.
1921. Allan Forbes, A.B. George Gregerson Wolkins, Esq. Thomas Goddard Frothingham, Esq. William Cameron Forbes, LL.D.	1922. Morris Schaff, Esq. LeBaron Russell Briggs, LL.D. Philip Hale, A.B. 1923. Henry Winchester Cunningham, A.B. Charles Warren, A.M.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

1899. Rt. Hon. Sir George Otto Trevelyan, Bart., D.C.L.	1919. Charles Harding Firth, LL.D.
1904. Adolf Harnack, D.D.	1921. Gabriel Hanotaux.
1910. Eduard Meyer, Litt.D.	1923. Henri Pirenne.

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1878. Joseph Florimond Loubat, LL.D.	1904. Sir Sidney Lee, LL.D.
1897. Hon. Woodrow Wilson, LL.D.	1905. Hubert Hall, Litt.D.
1898. John Franklin Jameson, LL.D.	1906. Andrew Cunningham McLaughlin, LL.B.
1900. Hon. Simeon Eben Baldwin, LL.D. John Bassett Moore, LL.D.	Hon. Beekman Winthrop, LL.B.
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1902. John Bach McMaster, LL.D.	1908. John Bagnell Bury, LL.D. Rafael Altamira y Crevea. Charles Borgeaud, LL.D.
1903. Rev. Arthur Blake Ellis, LL.B. Auguste Moireau.	1909. Lyon Gardiner Tyler, LL.D. Clarence Bloomfield Moore, A.B.

1910.	1919.
Charles William Chadwick Oman, LL.D.	George Arthur Plimpton, LL.D. George Russell Agassiz, A.B. Max Farrand, Ph.D.
1911.	Hon. Albert Jeremiah Beveridge, LL.D.
Samuel Verplanck Hoffman, Esq. William Milligan Sloane, LL.D.	Rt. Hon. Herbert Albert Laurens Fisher, LL.D. George Lincoln Burr, LL.D.
1912.	1920.
William MacDonald, LL.D.	Edwin Francis Gay, LL.D. Hon. Elihu Root, LL.D. Hon. David Jayne Hill, LL.D.
1913.	1921.
John Holland Rose, Litt.D.	Godfrey Rathbone Benson, Lord Charnwood, M.A. George Burton Adams, Litt.D. George Peabody Gooch, Litt.D.
1915.	1922.
Henry Osborn Taylor, Litt.D.	James Truslow Adams, Esq. George Mackinnon Wrong, M.A. Clarence Walworth Alvord, Ph.D.
1916.	1923.
George Macaulay Trevelyan, Litt. D. Charles Downer Hazen, Litt.D. William Keeney Bixby, LL.D.	James Benjamin Wilbur, Esq. Rev. Henry Sweetser Burrage, D.D.
1917.	
Rt. Hon. Earl of Rosebery, D.C.L.	
1918.	
Frederick Scott Oliver.	

MEMBERS DECEASED.

July, 1922 — September, 1923.

Resident.

1894, William Roscoe Thayer	Sept. 7, 1923.
1911, Henry Herbert Edes	Oct. 13, 1922.
1920, Endicott Peabody Saltonstall	Dec. 19, 1922.
1920, Harold Clarence Ernst	Sept. 6, 1922.

Honorary.

1905, Ernest Lavisce	Aug. 18, 1922.
1901, Viscount Morley, of Blackburn	Sept. 23, 1923.

Corresponding.

1901, Frederic Harrison	Jan. 13, 1923.
1905, William Archibald Dunning	Aug. 25, 1922.
1907, Sir George Walter Prothero	July 11, 1922.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

OCTOBER MEETING, 1922.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 19th instant, at three o'clock, P.M., the regular day having been a holiday; the first Vice-President, Mr. LORD, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From George Edward Cabot, the papers of his grandfather, Samuel Cabot, from 1712 to 1859, and of his great-grandfather, Thomas Handasyd Perkins, from 1773 to 1853. Mrs. James Perkins, daughter of Thomas Handasyd Peck, and mother of James and Thomas H. Perkins, took charge of her husband's counting house, in Boston, on his death in 1771, and carried on a large trade with the Northwest Coast and foreign ports which was later continued by James and T. H. Perkins & Son, of which firm Samuel Cabot, who married Eliza Perkins, daughter of Thomas H., was a member. These combined papers contain business and social correspondence; the papers, letter books, and lists of vessels relating to the settlement of claims of American citizens in British spoliations 1796-1806, kept by Samuel Cabot, Agent of the Commissioners; letters relating to the sale of J. S. Copley's land on Beacon Hill, 1796; diaries of Thomas H. Perkins, 1789-1846; and an account book of Prince and Cabot, 1783-1785.

From Miss Edith and Henry Hersey Andrew, additional papers of their father, Gov. John A. Andrew, 1809-1867; including correspondence, legal papers, deeds of emancipation of slaves, 1854-1856; letters on Capt. John Brown and his associates, 1859-1860, with a list of contributions for their defence, and miscellaneous printed pieces.

From Miss Josephine MacChord Shaw, additional Shaw family papers, 1648-1921, and a Bible, 1822, containing entries of the family record by Chief Justice Lemuel Shaw.

From Walter Gilman Page, four certificates and diplomas, 1806-1861; and papers showing the preliminary steps taken in the Pilgrim Tercentenary of 1921.

From Mrs. F. Gordon Dexter, transcript of letters of Martha Babcock Amory, wife of Charles Amory, to her mother, Mrs. Gardiner Greene, 1833-1834, which were privately printed in 1922.

From Henry Huxford Morse, ten volumes of records: four of the Boston Lodge of the American Party, kept by his father, Solomon Bradford Morse, Secretary, 1853-1856; three of the Soldiers' Relief, Boston, 1861; two of lists of scholars, Boston, 1866; and one, a log-book, 1847-1866, kept by Melzar and George Stoddard, masters of coasting voyages from Boston.

From James Benjamin Wilbur, nine photostat copies of original papers in London, 1766-67, relating to the New Hampshire Grants.

From the Estate of Miss Mary Perkins Quincy, by legacy, her collection of manuscript material relating to the Quincy family in England and America.

From Winthrop Wetherbee, the commission of Richard Hill as Lieutenant in a Regiment of Foot, October 17, 1739.

From Grenville H. Norcross, a copy of Hannah Adams's *Dictionary of Religions*, 1817, which was formerly in the possession of Thomas Lindall Winthrop, and his son Robert C. Winthrop. Also a volume of Psalms in Hebrew and Latin, London, 1664, which was in the libraries of successive ministers of the West Church, Boston, containing the signatures of Edward Pell, Jr., Jan. 14, 1729-30; of Nathan Mayhew; of Jonathan Mayhew, 1742; of S. Howard, 1768; of Charles Lowell, 1818; and of C. A. Bartol, 1861.

From Mrs. Kingsmill Marrs, works on English history, posters, and photographs, for the Kingsmill Marrs Collection.

From Henry Besson Thomas, of South Orange, New Jersey, two papers, 1852, from the papers of Chief Justice Shaw.

By deposit, from Mrs. Katharine Bell Read, of Roxbury, a Bible, 1706, owned in 1746 by Thomas Crafts, of Roxbury, containing family records of Bell and Crafts.

By purchase, *Directions and Exhortations*, by William Hunt, Boston, 1719, a tract of eight pages.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following accessions:

From the Estate of Miss Mary Perkins Quincy, Litchfield, Conn., articles as described in the extract from her will, printed

on page 3, *infra*; a ruler made from a piece of oak timber taken from the Hancock House, 1863; and a daguerreotype of Samuel Maverick Quincy, 1844.

From Frank W. Bayley, photographs of Hon. John Davis, of Plymouth and Boston, and of Mrs. Davis, from paintings by Gullager, of Robert Treat Paine from a painting by Edward Savage, and of Paul Revere from Stuart's painting; also thirteen engravings of Rev. George Whitefield.

From Miss Edith Andrew and Henry Hersey Andrew, several engravings and relics, associated with their father, Gov. John A. Andrew.

From Walter Gilman Page, a lithograph of the "Origin of the Stars and Stripes" compiled by John S. Sargent, Chicago, 1894; his original drawing, in colors, of the tablet erected to mark the site where the tea was thrown overboard in 1773; and several photographs, including one from the painting of James Bowdoin.

From Charles Bigelow, a piece of live oak from the Confederate iron-clad *Merrimac*, obtained from the sunken hull in 1864, and given to Capt. John Bigelow, his brother.

From Lothrop, Lee and Shepard Company, a plaster cast of Story's bust of Charles Sumner.

From Grenville H. Norcross, badge worn at the 24th annual reunion of the Association of Harvard Clubs, 1922; medal of the Annual Congress, Sons of the American Revolution, used as a badge, 1922; and medal of the Pilgrim Tercentenary, 1921, used as a badge by the reception committee; also several colored prints.

From Mrs. William L. Parker of Cohasset, a lithographic view of Chauncey Hall School, and First Congregational Church, Chauncey Street, Boston, 1857.

From Miss Josephine MacChord Shaw, photographs of Chief Justice Lemuel Shaw's house, 49 Mt. Vernon Street, of Mrs. Shaw, and of Mr. and Mrs. John K. Paine.

From Mrs. Richard Sparks, a four-clasp medal received by Richard Sparks for service in the first expedition to Crimea in 1854; also a soldier's "housewife," or mending case, given him by Florence Nightingale when he entered the service.

From Dr. James L. Huntington, a photostat negative of the key to the engraving "Washington and his Generals."

From Frank C. Brown, an engraving of Cotton Mather framed with wood from the old Mather house, Hanover Street, Boston; also a brick, said to be of Dutch make, from the same house.

From Miss Clara Bertha Dobson, of Ipswich, a daguerreotype of her grandfather, Lemuel Shattuck, of Concord, for many years a member of this Society.

From Arthur B. Claflin, a clock of Egyptian design, bought in Paris in 1875 by his father, the late Gov. William Claflin, and kept in his drawing room at 63 Mt. Vernon Street, during his residence there.

From Philip Young, a brick from the old Province House, the remaining part of which was recently demolished, taken from the tunnel under the house, which ran from Province Court to Harvard Place.

From the Misses Alice and Nellie I. Simpson, of Charlestown, a lithograph by N. Currier, August, 1840, of the house in Roxbury where Gen. Joseph Warren was born.

By deposit, from Mrs. Walter G. Read, of Brighton, wax portraits of Judge Joseph Read and of his son, Gen. Samuel Joseph Read, both by Rauschner.

From Mr. Norcross and by purchase, a number of photographs, of the Fort at Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia, and of Grand Pré, of Blomidon, and of Digby.

By purchase, a view, in June, 1889, painted by Walter Gilman Page, looking northerly from his studio at the corner of Westland Avenue and Parker (now Hemenway) Street over the site of the Historical Society's building, showing in the centre grounds the tents of Barnum's circus on both sides of Boylston Street, its last appearance at this place.

Mr. FORBES, as Treasurer, reported the receipt on July 10, 1922, of \$4,062.41, from the executor of the will of Miss Mary Perkins Quincy, of Litchfield, Connecticut, who died there on July 12, 1921. Miss Quincy's bequest of \$4,300, as shown by the following extracts from her will, was reduced to the amount received after the payment to the State of Connecticut of the succession tax of \$237.59.

12. To the Massachusetts Historical Society at Boston, I bequeath the sum of three thousand (\$3,000) to suitably furnish, set apart and prepare, within the Massachusetts Historical Society's building, an Alcove, or enclosure, to be known as the "Quincy Memorial Alcove."

13. I also bequeath the additional sum of one thousand (\$1,000) dollars to the Massachusetts Historical Society, to constitute an Endowment Foundation, for the "Quincy Memorial Alcove."

To the "Quincy Memorial Alcove" I give the portrait of my brother, John Williams Quincy, painted in the year 1892, by Mrs. Whitman of Boston, that is now in the Library of "Ardley."

(It would be gratifying to me if the Massachusetts Historical Society would consider the "Quincy Memorial Alcove" as an especial place for safeguarding the data and manuscripts in its keeping, of the Quincy name.)

(An earlier gift of papers has already been made by me to the Society, in the year 1904, in memory of my venerable Kinsman, the late Edward Elbridge Salisbury, that I request may be placed within the "Quincy Memorial Alcove.")

I further give to the Massachusetts Historical Society, as part of the "Quincy Memorial Alcove" gift:

1. The Silver Snuffer Dish, bearing the Hancock Coat of Arms, once owned by Hon. John Hancock.
2. The Tortoise Shell Comb (in a little case) which was once a part of the dressing case of Hon. John Hancock.
3. The small repoussé Silver Tea Set, of five pieces (about the year 1848-1850), an heirloom in the family of my mother.
4. I further give to the Massachusetts Historical Society at Boston, the sum of three hundred (\$300) dollars, which I request be used for the employment of a suitable, reliable person, to overlook and examine the papers that I leave, and to separate therefrom and return to my Executors, all manuscripts that do not refer specifically to the Quincy family. It had been my intention to have had this accomplished during my life time, but I trust it to the discretion of the person employed, and that fragments or papers of secondary importance be destroyed.

The Editor, in the absence of the Corresponding Secretary, reported the receipt of a letter from LeBaron Russell Briggs, of Cambridge, accepting his election as a Resident Member of the Society, and a letter from George Mackinnon Wrong, of Toronto, Canada, accepting his election as a Corresponding Member.

Mr. LORD announced the death of Dr. Harold Clarence Ernst, a Resident Member since on November 11, 1920, who died at Plymouth, September 6, 1922. He had been present at six meetings, the last one in June of this year. The report of the Committee to Examine the Library and Cabinet in 1921, was prepared by him. He gave the Society a bust, in plaster, of Wendell Phillips, and deposited his remarkable collection of sun-dials with the Society's exhibition in Ellis Hall. In many ways he had shown a warm interest in the Society.

Dr. FARLOW spoke of Dr. Ernst's work and position in the medical world and his tribute will be embodied in a memoir to be printed in this volume.

In announcing the death of Henry Herbert Edes, a Resident Member on January 11, 1911, which occurred at his home in Cambridge on October 13, 1922, Mr. LORD said: He had served the Society as a member of the Committee on the Treasurer's Accounts since 1913. In November, 1915, he was one of the Committee to nominate a Vice-President; and in December, 1916, was appointed on a committee to consider the erection of a Memorial to the Founders of New England. In April, 1920, he paid a tribute to the memory of Andrew McFarland Davis. He was occasionally present at meetings, and had made several gifts to the Society.

Rev. Mr. PARK then spoke as follows:

Death comes to some as a release. To Henry Herbert Edes death came as an interruption. He might well have said, quoting Job, "My purposes are broken off." Realizing that his days were numbered, he exclaimed with infinite regret "There is so much that I want to do." He loved life passionately, because it offered him such a quantity of congenial tasks and absorbing interests. It is given to few men to find such enduring happiness in life as he found, or a happiness based upon so worthy and useful a kind of activity. His passions were peculiarly unphysical. You never thought of the body in connection with Mr. Edes. He was remarkably free from any sort of slavery to the appetites of the flesh. True, he loved a good dinner, but he loved it not for the carnal delights it might afford, but for the human companionship, the feast of wit and the flow of soul, of which it might be the occasion.

The study of history was his consuming passion; especially the study of our local history in its more intimate, more detailed, more personal aspects. A great historian, in the sense that he grasped the profound philosophical significances of a complete epoch, and was able to view it as a whole in its relation to other epochs, he never claimed to be.

Had he been permitted the advantages of early mental training, his historical interest might well have taken this grander form. He was primarily an antiquarian. The minutiae of history comprised his especial field, and in this field he was unrivalled. No item in the story of our own colonial days was so small as to escape his vigilance, no personality so insignificant as to slip by unnoticed.

From this close, detailed study of the daily life and customs, the daily thoughts and doings of our forefathers, he engendered a great love for those exquisitenesses of manner and deportment, those refinements of etiquette and courtesy and dignity and propriety which, to our wistful eyes, constitute the "tender grace of a day that is dead." It filled him with a sort of wrathful grief to observe that that entire body of *mores*, as the anthropologist might say, the outward culture and conventionality, the suavity and breeding, the regard for the more delicate amenities of man's intercourse with man, should have become obsolete.

And perhaps the foremost purpose in a life crowded with purposes, was to rehabilitate, so far as possible, these graces of the age that is past, and put them again in vogue for the benefit of the age that is waiting before. We are bound to agree with him that this was a worthy purpose; that there is no more effective way in which a generation of human beings can be brought to realize their higher possibilities of spiritual manhood, than by being taught to observe those punctilios of behaviour which spring from the finer perceptions of the heart, and which inevitably suggest the nobler sentiments, the nicer tact, the more cultivated sympathies of human relationship.

Of course Mr. Edes' devotion to these olden time graces and amenities rendered him conspicuous, not to say incongruous, amid the raw crudities of our modern time. It was an incongruity that he was proud to acknowledge. He gloried in being an anachronism. Nothing speaks more eloquently of the independence of the man's nature than the serene disdain with which he greeted the derisive smiles of a State Street rabble who passed audible comments upon his tall silk hat. He had the courage of his convictions, which is more than many of us can boast. He knew that he was

right and they were wrong. In his tastes and moral values he was anything but a democrat. There was nothing docile or conformable in his nature. He lived his own independent life under the powerful momentum of personal conviction. He divided his time as he saw fit. If he wanted to turn night into day, it was nobody's business but his own. He was a thorough-going aristocrat, in his love of the best and in his ability to recognize the best wherever he saw it. His mind misgave him that *vox populi* was not necessarily *vox Dei*. And in sooth, the initiative, the referendum, and the primaries have taught a great many of us to share his misgivings.

For a self-made man, beginning with nothing and gathering headway only by dint of constant struggle against many obstacles, he won for himself an astonishing amount of recognition. It is pathetic to think how earnestly he craved recognition, how sensitive he was to slights and neglect; and it is comforting to think how he rejoiced in the honors that were conferred upon him, how profoundly happy they rendered the latter years of his life. His honorary membership in the Phi Beta Kappa Society, his degree of Master of Arts from Harvard, his membership in this and other learned societies — these all were to him a source of infinite pride and comfort.

Of him it is especially true that the man's labors and interests tended to disguise the man himself. Only by knowing him intimately could one discover the rugged, sterling traits of character that underlay his enthusiasms. He was gentle and kindly. He was patient and persevering. His friends had frequent occasion to marvel at the generosity of his solicitude, and his self-effacing humility. His honor and rectitude were taintless, and for all he was such an instinctive aristocrat, he had a fairness, a considerateness, a genuine human feeling in his treatment of others that many a humble soul will acknowledge with fervent gratitude.

Mr. FORD announced the death of an Honorary Member and of two Corresponding Members, saying:

The three members whose names have just been given, represented historical interests in three nations. Ernest

Lavissee of France, made an Honorary Member of this Society in 1905, then stood at the head of French historians. A member of the Faculty of Letters in the University of Paris, he was also editor of *La Revue de Paris*. His writings covered the history of Prussia and Imperial Germany and a general view of the history of Europe; but he will best be known by the *Histoire Generale*, prepared in collaboration with M. A. Rambaud, and the *Histoire de France jusqu'à la Revolution française*, a work stamped with the highest authority.

Sir George Walter Prothero of England became a Corresponding Member of the Society in 1907. He was lecturer in history in King's College, Cambridge, for eighteen years, professor of history in the University of Edinburgh for six years, president of the Royal Historical Society for four years, and also held the honorable and exacting post of editor of the *Quarterly Review* — the old *Quarterly* — a periodical of quite unique position and tradition. Like Lavissee, he directed large undertakings in historical fields, such as the Cambridge Historical Series, the Cambridge Modern History and the series of peace books issued by the Foreign Office. Some of us remember his residence in Boston in 1910, when giving a course of lectures in the Lowell Institute, and his gracious courtesies to American scholars in England during the International Historical Congress of 1913.

William Archibald Dunning was elected a Corresponding Member in 1905, and spoke at one of our meetings in November, 1903, on A Little More Light on Andrew Johnson. For thirty-six years a teacher of history in Columbia University he has held since 1904 the Francis Lieber professorship of history and political philosophy. In all that time he has exerted an influence in the teaching of history that has been fruitful of good and offered an example of the self-sacrificing scholar devoted to encouraging scholarship in others. His publications were not many in number — on political theory from ancient to modern times, on the reconstruction policy after the War of Secession, and on relations between the United States and Great Britain — but whatever he did write was at once accepted because of its merit and the solid foundation of research on which it rested. His

fine sense of the requirements of his profession proved an inspiration to many, and his sympathy and sense of humor made him a lovable colleague and companion.

KEY OF PORT ROYAL

Mr. LORD said:

In the record of the meeting of this Society held on July 26, 1796,¹ among the gifts to the Cabinet is enumerated "The key of the Fort at Annapolis, taken 1710," from Mr. Samuel Belknap. At that time there was a Samuel Belknap, a silversmith in Boston, born December 31, 1771, who Mr. Tuttle suggests was a distant cousin of Rev. Jeremy Belknap and a son of our founder by the same name. Dr. Belknap gave to the Massachusetts Historical Society on October 11, 1791, his large collection of the papers of Pepperrell and Shirley relating to the Louisburg Expedition.

At Annapolis Royal, the old Port Royal of the French, there is still standing the picturesque old fort surrounded by grounds of some 31 acres in extent, which are now a national park. Here came in 1604 the French expedition under the leadership of Pierre des Gua, Sieur de Monts, and second in command was Samuel de Champlain, famous as a navigator, geographer and historian.

About 1635 the first fort was built at Annapolis Royal by Charles de Menou d'Aulnay. The fort now standing was built between 1688 and 1710. It resisted an attack by the English forces made up largely of men from New England in 1704 and again in 1707, and was finally captured by the expedition which assembled in Boston in 1710 under the command of Col. Francis Nicholson. New England furnished twenty-four transports, and England twelve. The military part consisted of one regiment of marines, two regiments from Massachusetts, one regiment from Connecticut, and one from New Hampshire and Rhode Island. The fleet sailed from Nantasket on September 8, 1710, and six days later entered the lower basin of Port Royal.

Daniel d'Auger de Subercase became Governor of Acadia in 1706, and was in command of the defence of the territory

¹ *Proceedings*, I. 101.

and of the fort when Colonel Nicholson demanded its surrender. Failure to comply with the demand led to a determined attack on the fort. On the 12th, or 13th, of October, Subercase sent an officer to Colonel Nicholson to propose a capitulation; and the surrender was made on the 16th of October, 1710.

Between the date of its capture by Nicholson and the Treaty of Ghent in 1814, the fort sustained some serious attacks and sieges. From the date of that treaty to the present time it has not been disturbed by war's alarms and its occupation as a military post was abandoned at the outbreak of the Crimean War in 1854. It has been said that there is no place on the North American continent which in the three hundred years of its history has been so often under fire, so often captured and regained, and because of that historic past the key of the ancient fortress has an unusual interest to the present day visitor.

On April 4, 1922, Mr. L. M. Fortier, President of the Historical Association of Annapolis Royal and, as honorary curator of the fort, acting in behalf of the government, wrote me a letter strongly urging the propriety of the restoration of the key to the Dominion Government, to be permanently preserved in the old fort.

At a meeting of the Council of this Society, held on April 12, 1922, I brought to their attention the request of Mr. Fortier, and the disposition of the Council being favorable to the return of the key, as requested, the matter was referred to Mr. Norcross and myself with full power to act. I then wrote Mr. Fortier that if a formal request was made for the return of the key by the Commissioner of Dominion Parks, within whose jurisdiction the old fort is placed, that the application would be favorably received, and stated that "it would serve as a slight acknowledgment of the great courtesy and generosity of the English Government in presenting to the Town of Plymouth last year two ancient cannon of the Mayflower period."

On June 2, 1922, the Commissioner of National Parks at Ottawa wrote me saying in part, that

the Dominion Government has recently set aside this interesting old fort as a historic park and created a museum there,

in which as many historical relics connected with the early days as can be secured are being placed. You will appreciate the fact that this old Key would be an object of the greatest interest and value in this connection, and I am taking the liberty of writing to ask whether your Society would consider the suggestion of its surrender to Canada, so that it might be deposited permanently with other records in the old fort. If your Society feels that it can consider such a proposal favorably, I can assure you that your courtesy and generosity will be deeply appreciated by the Canadian Government.

On the 12th of June, after conference with Mr. Norcross, I wrote the Commissioner that the Society would permit the return of the Key to the Dominion Government, and expressing the hope that its return after the lapse of two centuries might serve as a slight expression of the present cordial relations between the two countries.

On the 22nd of June I received a graceful letter of acknowledgment from the Canadian Government, signed by Charles Stewart, Minister, as follows:

Dear Sir,—I am in receipt of your letter of June 12th and learn with great pleasure that the Massachusetts Historical Society has agreed to surrender to the Dominion Government the old Key of Fort Anne, Annapolis Royal, which has been in its possession for many years, in order that it may be deposited permanently with other records of the early occupation in the old Fort.

I can assure you that the courteous action of your Society in this connection is very deeply appreciated by the Canadian Government. It will be remembered as a very happy expression of international goodwill and will help to strengthen the impression, that in the work for the preservation of historical and beautiful things on this continent there is no dividing line.

In August of this year Mr. Norcross and Mr. Tuttle made the formal delivery of the Key at Annapolis and I shall ask Mr. Norcross to report upon that interesting event.

The return of the Key properly follows the more important return to the State of Connecticut of the Trumbull papers, and furnishes another precedent which I trust will have a helpful influence in years to come in securing the return of certain relics of the historic past, now widely scattered, to the localities and societies where such memorials

naturally belong and can best be preserved. No collection will permanently suffer by a gift of some relic in its possession to another locality or society which presents a more natural and fitting resting place, and the result will show, I think, that the collections of this Society in the years to come will receive objects of historic interest which more properly belong here than elsewhere, because of the adoption of the policy which this simple gift illustrates.

Mr. NORCROSS then said:

When Mr. Lord went to England, I took up the matter of the key of Port Royal. Accompanied by Mr. Tuttle, our Librarian, I went to Annapolis Royal in September, taking with me the key, which I had placed in an appropriate box with a brass plate inscribed:

Key of Port Royal 1710

Given to the Massachusetts Historical Society 1796

Returned to Annapolis Royal 1922

On Monday, September 18, we were received at a meeting of the Historical Society in the Officers' Quarters in Fort Anne, now restored and made into a Museum; where Mayor King made an address of welcome. Nicholson's account of the Surrender in 1710 and letters from the Chief Justice of Nova Scotia, the member of the Dominion Parliament, and the Consul General of the United States at Halifax were then read, and I made the presentation of the key, with a few words on the propriety of such relics being placed where they were of the most interest. Mr. Tuttle spoke briefly, and Mr. Fortier, the President of the Society, read the following response:

GENTLEMEN: — In the name of the Government of Canada, and as representing more particularly the National Parks Branch of the Public Service, I accept for the museum of Fort Anne the interesting gift you have brought here today.

We are assembled as near the site of the old gateway of the Fort as circumstances will allow. The key of Port Royal, given up and received by brave men, French on the one hand, English-American on the other, more than two centuries ago, is brought

back today by English-Americans and received by a man who by descent is of the breed of de Subercase! Could anything be more fitting?

One thing we of Annapolis Royal must, however, regret, and that is that while you people of Boston, and particularly the Massachusetts Historical Society, were taking care of our old key and preserving it for us, our fathers let the gateway and the gate to which this key belonged go to pieces and utterly disappear, so that no fragment of them remains, and we only know of their existence and location by the old plans, tracings of which are in our museum.

That really is too bad, but I am glad to be able to assure you, gentlemen, that we are doing our best to guard against a repetition of this supineness — otherwise we would not be worthy of the trust you are reposing in us in giving back our old key. The Government and the Historical Societies of Canada are working together for the preservation of the historic monuments that remain — such as this old fort. The example set us by the Massachusetts Historical Society is being followed — we are working now on similar lines in Canada, and doing it, we believe, effectively.

I ask you to carry this message back with you to Boston, along with our fraternal greetings, and our best and sincerest thanks to the Society you represent for the care taken so many, many years of this old key, and the wonderful kindness and unselfishness of the Society in parting with it now in order to have it restored to its place of origin. I ask you to assure the Society for us that the key will be well taken care of here, and given a place of special honour in the museum of Fort Anne.

Yours faithfully,

L. M. FORTIER,

*President of the Historical Association of Annapolis
Royal and Honorary Superintendent of Fort Anne.*

The letters referred to are filed in the Society with this report.

We were taken on motor rides through Granville and Digby Gut to the Bay of Fundy, and to Bear River, and entertained twice at afternoon tea, and left Annapolis on Wednesday the 20th. On the way to Annapolis Royal we stopped over Sunday at St. John, New Brunswick, and saw

in Trinity Church, founded by the loyalists from Massachusetts, the original carved Royal Arms which formerly hung in the Old State House in Boston, and which were taken to Halifax at the evacuation by the British in 1776, and later to St. John.

Mr. Tuttle made rubbings of two memorial brasses in the Church to Jonathan Sewall and his wife, Esther, daughter of Edmund Quincy, and to the United Empire Loyalists.

Mr. FORD offered some

LETTERS OF THOMAS CORAM.

What little is known of Thomas Coram, at one time a resident of Taunton, may be found in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, in Hamilton A. Hill's paper in 2 American Antiquarian Society *Proceedings*, VII. 133, and in Charles A. Reed's contribution in the *Collections of the Old Colony Historical Society*, II. 1880. To these essays may be added an anonymous contemporary and vehemently favorable estimate, reprinted in Boston in 1751, entitled *Private Vertue and Public Spirit display'd. In a Succinct Essay on the Character of Captain Thomas Coram*. But none of the studies of his career and character begin to have the interest that his letters convey, and all of them combined do not show the qualities of his mind and temper as do the collection now given. They are written after Coram had attained a certain success and position in England and exhibit to the full his remembrance of old injuries, his restiveness under opposition and his freedom of expression, the more noticeable because the letters are addressed to a clergyman. The tribute of 1751 says "his Arguments were nervous, tho' not nice, founded commonly upon Facts; and the Consequences that he drew, so closely connected with them, as to need no farther Proof than a fair Explanation. When once he made an Impression, he took care it should not wear out; for he enforced it continually by the most pathetic Remonstrances. In short, his Logic was plain Sense, his Eloquence the natural Language of the Heart."

REASONS OF APPEAL.¹

Bristol Ss. The Reasons of Appeal of Thomas Coram of Boston in New-England sometime resideing in Tanton Ship-SEAL wright Appel'ts ags't Peter Walker of Tanton afores'd Husbandman Def't from the Judgm't of the Inferiour Court of Common pleas held at Bristol for the County of Bristol on the second tuesday of January last to the Superiour Court of Judicature to be holden at Bristol for the County aforesaid on the second tuesday of September next 1701.

1st. That whereas at the said Inferiour Court Judgment was given for the def't the same by law ought to have been given for the plt.

2d. That whereas the said def't did by one instrument under his hand and seal dated the Eighteenth day of aprill 1699, for and in consideracion of the sum of fifty pounds mony did promise and agree with the said Coram, to Cart draw and raft all the timber and wooden matterialls from the stump's into the building yard of said Coram for the Compleat building and lanching of a new ship which said Coram hath on the Stocks etc. as by said Covenants may more fully appear, which said agreement or Covenant the said def't hath broken, to the damage of the plt. at least five hundred pounds, by his not Carting said timber for said Ship as he was obleidged to. first, by the loss of the plt. owne time (2) the loss of his mens time (3) the hinderance of the ships going on (4) the Loss of many tonn's of timber which was Cut and hewed and not being Carted was burnt in the woods, other timber being carted to the waterside and not brought into the Yard accord: to Covnant was Carried away with the tide and so wholly lost which Constrained the plt to Cut more timber to Supply the place, the (5) damage for want of the timber being Carted is the loss of my freind one Mr. Hunt a worthy Merchant in London, who was concerned with the plt. who hath ordered the withdrawing of the Effects out of the plts hands which was sent to Carry on the ship and for no other reason but because of the tedeousness in building occasioned by no other means but the want of timber being Carted, all of which doth appear by Evidence and whereas the deft pleads the matters being left to men and that they have given their award therein it plainly doth appear by Shepherds grand abridgment² 1 prt. fol. 178 that

¹ From the collection of Charles P. Greenough. An account of this suit is given by Mr. Hill, *op. cit.*

² *Grand Abridgment of the Common and Statute Law of England*, London, 1675, by William Sheppard.

their award is voyd, for that reason that they have not mentioned or awarded any thing concerning said Actions and Crooks reports¹ 2d prt: fol: 200: Dtt. 354 and 400. neither did they deliver it according to submission therfore voyd as appears by Shepherd abridgment 1 pr: fol: 178: and Crooks 2 prt: fol: 578 for these reasons therefore the Aplt. doubts not but this Honor'd Court will see good reason to reverse said Judgment of the Inferiour Court and give Judgment for the damage sued for and Costs of suit, to

your Hon'rs Humble servant

THOMAS CORAM.

WRIT.

Bristoll ss. William the Third by the Grace of God of England Scotland France and Ireland King Defender of the faith SEAL etc: To the Sheiriff of our County of of Bristol his Under Sheiriff or Deputy Greeting

We command you to Attach the Goods or Estate of Thomas Coram of Taunton in the County of Bristoll in New England, Shipwright to the Value of three Hundred poundes and for want thereof to take the Body of the said Thomas Coram (if he may be found in your precinct) and him safely keep so that you have him before Our Justices of our Infeiriour Court of Common Pleas next to be holden at Bristoll for and within Our County of Bristoll aforesaid on the second Tuesday of January then and there in our said Court to answer unto Peter Walker of Taunton in the County of Bristoll within the Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England aforesaid Yeoman in a Plea of Coven't for that viz't whereas by Certaine Articles of Agrem't Indented and made the 18th day of April 1699 between the said Peter Walker by the Name of Peter Walker of Taunton in the County of Bristoll in the Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England Yeoman of the one part and the said Thomas Coram by the Name of Thomas Coram of Taunton aforesaid Shipwright of the other part One part of which Articles be sealed with the seale of the said Thomas Coram bearing date the day and year aforesaid. The said Peter Walker Produceth here in Court Amongst other things it is Concluded as followeth viz't: That in Consideration for Carting Drawing and Rafting and laying into the yard (mentioned in said Articles) All the timber

¹ Sir George Croke, *Reports, King's-Bench and Common-Bench* [1582-1641], London, 1669.

Planke Masts and Trunails and all wooden Matterialls whatsoever fitt for Compleat Building Lanching and finishing the Ship (in said Articles allsoe Mentioned) as in said Articles covenanted The said Thomas Coram for himself Exe'rs Adm'rs and Assignes Doth Coven't promise Bargaine and Agree to and with the said Peter Walker his heires Exe'rs and Adm'rs to pay or Cause to be payd unto the said Peter Walker or his Assignes at Taunton aforesaid the full and Just somme of fifty poundes Curr't mony of New England in moun'ts following (that is to say) Ten poundes well and truely payd the 15th day of June last past before the Ensealeing said Articles the Receipt whereof is thereby Acknowledged Thirty poundes more on the thirtyeth day of June Next Ensueing or on the Third day Next after the abouesaid Material shall be layd into the yard which shall first and Next Happen after all be layd into the yard as thereby Covenanted. and the remaineing ten poundes within three months after, and to Hew all the Timber as much as is proper and safe and all the Plank Loggs on two sides and the biggest Masts and yards Eight Square, and to make the said Wallker Reasonable allowance for the Carting any timber or Planke the which he shall Cart and lay in the yard over and above what shall be used about the said ship as aforesaid According to the Discretion and Award of two Judicious men (who shall haue Liberty to Chuese a third man) mutually Choesen by both the said partyes To the true and faithfull keeping obseruation performing and fullfilling of all and singuler the Couents, Bargaines Articles Agreem'ts and Payments in maner as aforesaid The said Thomas Coram for his part bindeth himself his heires and Executors etc. to the said Peter Walker his heires Exe'rs etc. in the penalty of makeing good all the Damage that may Arise thro' the Neglect or Default of the said Thomas Coram on his part to be payd unto the said Peter Walker his heires and Assignes as in and by the Articles of Agreem't aforesaid Amongst other things more fully and plainly may Appear. And alltho' the said Peter walker hath well and faithfully observed performed and fullfilled all and singuler the Couen'ts Bargains Articles and Agreem'ts in the Articles of Agreements Specified on the part of him the said Peter walker to be obserued fullfilled and performed according to the form and Effect of the Articles of Agreement aforesaid. Protesting that the said Thomas Coram hath not kept obserued performed or fullfilled the Couen'ts Bargaines Articles Agreements and payments in the said Articles of Agrem't Specified on the part of him the said Thomas Coram to be kept obserued performed or fullfilled according to the form and Effect

of the said Articles of Agremt In fact the said Peter Walker saith that the said Thomas Coram hath not payd him the Thirty poundes aforesaid Nor the ten poundes aforesaid Nor made Reasonable Allowance for Carting the timber Plank etc Carted and layd in the yard over and above what was used about the ship aforesaid and so the said Peter saith that the said Thomas his Couen't aforesaid with the said Peter walker in this behalfe made according to the form and Effect of the Articles of Agreem't aforesaid hath not Kept but Broken to the Damage of the said Peter walker (as he saith) the somme of one Hundred and fifty poundes which shall then and there be made to Appeare with other due Damages and haue you there this writt with your doings therein witness Nathaniel Byfield Esq'r at Bristoll the 24th of December In the Thirteenth Year of Our Reign Annoque Domini 1701.

JOHN CARY Cler:

December the 29th 1701

By Vertue of this writt I have Attached a New Ship upon the stocks of the within said Coram of Taunton to Suffecient Value and left a Summons at his house By

JOHN WATTS Under Sheirriff.

The Def't pleads that the pl't hath not performed his Couenants as Auerd in the writt Therefore the payments not due.

THOMAS CORAM.

A true Copie Exam'd per John Cary Cler:

TO BENJAMIN COLMAN

LONDON 30th April 1734.

REVEREND SIR,—I was hon'rd with your most acceptable Letter of the 19th September last, Signifying your Graceous Acceptance of one of the 24 Lattin Copys of Erasmus his Ecclesiastes¹ which (by permission of the Rest of the late Reverend Dr. Bray's Associates) I sent last year to New England; And your Expressing your good liking to that Book as proper and usefull in the hands of the Professors and Tuters of the College and profitable to Studients in Divinity and Candidates for the Ministry and which ought to be Immortal and ly on the Table of every one that has the Care of Soules; it was by the like good

¹ *Ecclesiastes, sive de Ratione concionandi*, London, 173c. A translation was printed in 1797.

account I had of it from some here who are also good Judges in Books, I was prompted to send those few Copys supposing there were not any of that sort in New England; for my part I am no Judge in Learning I understand no Lattin, nor English nither, well, for though Through Mercy I discended from vertuous good Parentage on both sides as any Body, they were Famelies of Strict hon'r and honesty and alwayes of Good Reputation amongst the better sort of people, Yet I had no Learning, my Mother Dying when I was Young, My Father Marryed again 4 or 5 years after at Hackney Near this City, I went to sea, out of my Native place the Little Town of Lyme in the West of England at 11 years and half old until 5 years after my Father sent for me hither and put me apprentice to a Shipwright; however, the above-said venerable Dr. Bray late minister of Aldgate Parish ¹ wherein I lived had the Goodness to bear a great Respect for me at all Times from his first knowing me, and often Lamented the great pains I for many years took for having a proper Settlement made on the Lands Lying Wast and Derelict between New England and Nova Scotia,² told me a little before Christmas 1729 his Death he found drew near for he was sure by his continued decay he should not live out the Winter yet he would before he dyed find out a way to have a Settlement made for the Releife of such honest poor Distressed Famelies from hence as by Losses, want of Employment or otherwise are reduced to poverty and such who were persecuted for their professing the protestant Religion abroad, to be happy by their Labour and Industry in some part of His Majesties Dominions in America but was of Opinion the place I proposed was too far Northward, the Winters being very long there; he sent for Mr. James Vernon,³ the Reverend Dr. Hales,⁴ Ld. Percival⁵ and Mr. Oglethorpe and 2 or 3 more and proposed their Entering into an association with him tho Confined to his Chamber for the Carrying on his Design of a Colony, and two Designs of his own viz't for Instructing the Negroes in the British Plantations in the Christian Religion; (for which there is £960 now at Intrest under good security) for settling Parochial Libraries in Great Britain; and for other Good purposes; he sent

¹ (1656-1730), who held the living of St. Botolph Without, Aldgate.

² *Abstract of the Scheme of Government so far as it relates to the Grantees for settling the Land lying between Nova Scotia and the Province of Maine.* London, 1721.

³ Died, 1756, son of James Vernon (1646-1727). He was associated with Dr. Bray in the parochial library trust.

⁴ (1677-1761), physiologist and inventor.

⁵ John Perceval, first Earl of Egmont (1683-1748).

for proper persons to Draw up an Instrument suitable to the occasions and to his good liking for he Continued very Senceble, and had also his last Will altered to his Mind, Which were both Executed at the same Time and just Time enough before he began to loose his Spirits and Sences and he Expired a few dayes after on the 15th february, and is without all Doubt happy, he was a Great Small man and had done Great good things in his life Time. Mr. Oglethorpe had recommended to him, and given him the names of some Gentlemen to be associates which I believe he would not have Consented to if he had known them. how ever A Charter was thereupon sollicitated and obtained for the Colony of Georgia in somewhat more than 2 years after.¹ There are not many of those associates who gives themselves any Trouble about the other two Matters, but I believe I may venture to say the better sort of them do. They Constantly meet the first Munday in every Month; at their last meeting I proposed, That as they have still Books which were left them by Doctor Bray for to give some small Library either to Parishes or Missionaries abroad, they would consent to let me have a small parcel of those books proper for each of the 3 Missionaries Parker, Hinsdell and Secomb who were on the 12th December Ordain'd in your South Brick Meeting house to be employed in that most Excellent Work of Converting the Indians to the True Christian Religion, as mentioned in a newspaper sent me by my Sister Mrs. Stirling Entitled the Boston Weekly News Letter of the 13th of December,² Which Paragraph I have published in one of our

¹ June 9, 1732.

² Yesterday came on the Ordination of the Rev. Mr. *Stephen Parker*, Mr. *Ebenezer Hinsdell* & Mr. *Joseph Secomb*, at our South Brick Meeting House, before a great & reverend sembly of Ministers and People. The Rev. Mr. *Cooper* began the Exercise with Prayer, Dr. *Sewal* preach'd from Acts xxvi. 18. *To open their Eyes and turn them from Darkness to Light, and from the Power of Satan unto GOD*, &c. Then Mr. Webb Pray'd, Dr. *Coleman* gave the Charge, and Mr. *Prince* the Right Hand of Fellowship: Several other Reverend Ministers of the Town joyn'd in the laying on of Hands.

Dr. *Coleman* gave a brief Account of the Occasion of the Meeting to this Effect, "That a few private Gentlemen in the City of *Edinburgh* who were a Society there, for the Reformation of Manners, laying to Heart the Ignorance, Atheism, Popery and Impiety that did so much abound in the *Highlands and Isles of Scotland*, made a voluntary Subscription for erecting *Charity Schools* in those Places of Darkness & Irreligion. But soon finding themselves unable in their private Capacity, to carry on so great and publick a Work, some of them applied privately to Members of their *General Assembly*, the Representatives of the Church of *Scotland*, who in the Year 1706, recommended it to their Commission, who published *Pro-*

Newspapers hoping it may provoke other Doctor Williams¹ here in this Kingdome to help out either with their wealth to Support Missionarys in the Protestant Intrest In the said most Excellent Work Whilst the Romanist spare no pains to Instruct those Indians in their Way to Consider English men as the Posterity of Jews that murderd our Saviour and the Virgin Mary, and I know not What. I represented to those Worthy and hon'rd Gentlemen the Earl of Egmont and the other associates then present on the 1st instant That to give a small parcel of those books to each of those 3 Gentlemen would have Extreordinary good effect, the publishing it in our News papers might exite Benefactors for promoting so good a Work as these 3 are upon; It would be a great Encouragement to them, for as they are young men they have no books nor money to buy any, besides, such notice of them would be an hon'r to them and would Cause Emulation amongst other Candidates for the Ministry and there is a Large havest for Labourers in that Work they are upon.

The Associates Declared they were willing to give some Books as I desired provided proper application be made for them, els it

posals for propagating Christian Knowledge, as well in Foreign Parts, as in their own Highlands.

Two Years after this, they made Application to her Majesty Queen Anne who granted her *Letters Patents* for Erecting the Subscriptions into a Corporation for the Ends aforesaid.

By the Year 1720 the Subscriptions amounted to above *Eight Thousand Pounds Sterling*, and a Vast Number of Charity Schools are now supported by the *Honourable Society*, many more (we think) than one Hundred.

And the Rev and Charitable Dr. *Daniel Williams* of London, a Disenting Minister, having in his last will bequeathed to this Society, an Estate of *Fifty six Pounds Sterling per Annum*, toward the support of *three Qualified Missionaries*, Ordained Ministers of the Gospel, that should Labour in the Instruction & Conviction of Infidel People perishing in Ignorance of Christ: The Honourable Society choose to make the poor Heathenish People about *New-England* the first Objects of their Care.

To which End they wrote to *His Excellency* our GOVERNOUR, and nominated several Honourable, and Reverend Persons under Him, to be their Commissioners and *Corresponding Members*; which being laid before the *General Court*, two Years ago, they granted an Additional Honourable Support to each of the Missioners for five Years.

It is now more than a Year that Mr. *Parker*, *Hinsdel* and *Secomb* have been Ministring in the Places assigned them, the first at *Fort Richmond*, the second at *Fort Dummer* the third at *St. George's*; whither they are returned (by the Will of GOD) accompanied with the Prayers of all the People of GOD, for their Success in a Mission of so great Difficulty and Importance. *Boston Weekly News-Letter*, December 13, 1733.

¹ Daniel Williams (1643?-1716).

would be improper to Send any before it be Known they are Wanted, they desired me to enform myself of the Secretary of the Scots Society here at London, who has since told me he believes and is sure no books have been sent there from Great Britain; And that I would Inform myself if those Missionarys wanted Books. Now Good Sir I conceive the Reverend the President¹ is the Proper person to write to on this occation yet I am afraid I have not time to Write to him by this Ship to acknowledge the favour of his Kind letter, I being such a poor Writer it is troublesome to me, but if I can get Time to write it will be but short. Wherefore If you will be so good to Commune with him on this affaire of Books for the 3 Missionaries, you will between you consider who it will be best to write to, whither to the Earl of Egmont who is a Worthy Good Charitable Gentleman and one of the Doctor Bray's first associates and acquaintance, but is often at the Bath or at one of his Seats in the Country, so consequently uncertain, els he would be the very best person to Write to on it. If you or any els should write to me thereon I conceive it would be as well to write to me and Instruct me, as I have the hon'r to be one of Dr. Bray's Associates, to Represent to them that some Books for those Missionaries would be acceptable etc. But I forget myself, for me to pretend to give you advice would be like bringing forth a Candle to light the Sun; I had like to forget to acquaint you that I communicated yours² and the Presidents and Doctor Cutters Letters on one the same Subject, to the associates who shewed a just Esteem for them and desired me that they might be put on the file which I gladly yeilded to, for they were in my opinion very good letters fitt to be shewed and keepd and I hope will have a future good effect and produce a most noble Building on that low foundation of sending these few Copsys of that small Book.

My Wife is Extremely obliged to your Good Lady for her Kind Remembrance of her. I beg leave to Joyne with my Wife in Tenders of our utmost Respects to your Lady³ and tho I never had the hon'r of any acquaintance with her I had with her good Father Mr. Crisp from my first coming to New England 40 years past; he was shaved by the same barber Mr. Chickley where I used to be Shaved. I also beg the favour of your Brother Mr.

¹ Benjamin Wadsworth, President of Harvard College.

² Written in September, 1733.

³ Sarah, daughter of Richard and Sarah Crisp, born September 15, 1672, married (1) William Harris, (2) John Leverett, the President of Harvard College, (3) John Clark, and (4) Dr. Colman.

John Coleman¹ to accept of our Due Respects.

I am with perfect Esteem Reverend Sir your most obedient humble servant,

THOMAS CORAM.

P. S. When ever you think fit to hon'r me with a line be pleased to direct for me to be left at the Navy Office London.

[Memorandum] Answered and wrote to Ld. Egmont, July 8, 1734.²

LONDON, 13th February 1734-5.

REVEREND AND MUCH ESTEEMED SIR, — As soon as I received the favour of your most obliging letter dated the 8th July which Inclosed one from you to the Rt. Hon'rble the Earl of Egmont by Direction of his Excellency the Gover'r who is ever ready unto every good Work and is first in the Pious Care for the Success of the Mission for Conversion of the Indians, to let his Lordship, as head of the associates of the late Reverend Dr. Bray, know that the Missionaries among the Indians are in Need of Proper Books and how acceptable the bounty of his L'dship and the Associates to the said Missionaries, would be to the Gentlemen Commissioners in Boston who have the Oversight of those Missions.

The Earl of Egmont was at that time sick at his Seat in Kent. I inclosed to him your said Letter which he answered me and hoped to be in Town at the Meeting of the Associates, w'ch is the first Munday Every Month, but was not well recoverd then but came to town soon after and readely Consented to send a Sortment of books for the good purpose you desired them and they were ordered to be looked out and bound according and are Contained on the small Chest w'ch this is designed to be sent in. his Lordship was not then very well recoverd, and Expected the Books would be sent away in a Ship then going before Winter, but there was not the hast made to have the books got ready, as some other of the associates as well as my self Wished for, he said he was afraid he should not be able to write to you then (but Intends it now) he desired me to do it in the best manner I could, to present you with his utmost Respects and Thanks for your Letter and to acquaint you with his Request that you would be pleased to Intreat your Missionaries to Treat the Indians with Justice and Patience and to feed them with Milk and not to Cram them w'th Mistry (those are his Lordships Words) and to have a Care not to put the fire out whilst they are endeavour-

¹ (1671-1751), a merchant who wrote much on currency and was connected with the Land Bank of 1740.

² Printed in Turell, *Life and Character of Colman*, 1749, 144.

ing to Kindle it. I cannot repeat what his Lordship said but wth great Disadvantage to it, for he speaks much in a little and is no Bigot or Partyman in Religion no farther than becomes a good and Wise man. he desired me to get one or 2 of Dr. Watts's small Catechisms, a Dissenting minister in this City, which his Lordship thought would be very proper to teach the Indians, so I got 5 for each Missionary 15 in the Whole, little Things. I must Request you will be pleased to take a Catalog of the books you receive in and with the Chest and send it to the Reverend Mr. Samuel Smith at Aldgate Church he was greatly belov'd by Dr. Bray and the fittest man among his Associates for you to Correspond with for he knew more than any other of the Drs. Designs and affairs and is expert enough in Writing. he has put a letter Into the Chest for you I thinke there are 54 bound books in the Chest, little, less and bigger. They are designed for the Mission not for the Missionaries to be their own, but as you and the other Hon^rble Commissioners at Boston shall be pleased to Dispose of them.

as soon as I understood there were Missionaries appointed to Reside with the Indians to Instruct them I requested my sister Mrs. Stirling to send each of the Missionaries one of Dr. Brays Erasmus Preacher if so many were then undisposed of (whereby they are already supplyd each with one). I have a letter of Thanks from Mr. Stephen Parker and also from Mr. Joseph Secombe which were transmited to me by my said Sister and the latter named Missionary gave me an account of those Wild people, which I communicated to the Earls of Egmont and some others of the Associates who are Extreemly pleasd with him and thinke he appears a promising man to do great Good things in the World. they were desirous of having his account published, in which I have Gratified them as you may see by the Inclosed printed paper. he happened to be somewhat Lucky in giving an account which nither of the other did so I was desired to get him a Bible worth 2 Genees which is ordered to himself not for the Mission, and which I shall Convey to him through the hand of my Sister by whom I had his account. here are 15 Sermons preaching and to be preached against Popery by 15 Dissenting Ministers in this City when they shall be preached and Published, I have bespoke one of each for each of the s'd 3 Missionaries not on account of Dr. Brays associates but I shall send them by the hand of my Sister.

I request your Favour, and my Wife¹ Joynes tharein That you

¹ Eunice, daughter of John and Eunice (Roberts) Wayte, born July 11, 1677, and married Coram June 27, 1700.

will be pleased to give my Mother a visit when it may suit with your Conveniency She is an Ancient Good Woman we both love her.

We also Request you will be pleased to present our utmost Respects to your Good Lady Wishing you both Long enjoyment of happiness together I have the hon'r to be with perfect Esteem Reverend Sir your most obedient Servant

THO'S CORAM.

P. S. I am not a Judge in books. If there are not so good or so many of those as I could wish It is no fault of the Reverend Mr. Smith.

I should be Glad to know the Age and Character of your 3 Missionaries their Country and Parentage.¹ Mr. Seccombe Stands high in the opinion of the Earl of Egmont and some others here I hope he will deserve always to be so and that it may be for his hon'r and advantage.

[Memorandum] Rec'd April 14, 1735, from Mr. Coram. Answered 21.

[also] Mr. Coram. 1735. with my answer & Revd. Mr. Smith 2 Letter on same head.

LONDON 26th July 1735.

REVEREND SIR,—I was highly hon'rd by your most obliging letter of the 21 April, which was Read to the Earl of Egmont at a full Board of Dr. Bray's associates His Lordship and most of the Rest hold themselves under vast obligations to you.

I think Mr. Seccombe has much the Harder Taske in Grapling w'th the Jesuit and the Jesuited Indians I wish he had a fellow Labourer with him to Carry on that Glorious Worke. The L'd Egmont is gon into the Country as most else are, and there is so much application for Books for the Many Charity Schools erected in the Highlands of Scotland and they each desire a quantity equal to what was sent to the Missionaries (the Secretary, Mr. Anderson of the Scots Society is one of Dr. Brays associates) as I fear no more can be had from the associates. however I have spoke to Dr. Avery and some other Good men from whome I hope

¹ Stephen Parker was in the class of 1727, Harvard College, but nothing is known of his family. Ebenezer Hinsdell, a member of the same class was from Deerfield, and was born on the passage from Canada in 1706, and died in 1763. Sheldon, *Deerfield*, I. 203. Joseph Seccombe was born in 1706, graduated in 1731, married Mary Thuriel in 1738 and died in 1760.

to get some books or other assistants against those Jesuitcal Men and ther Disciples.

I have desired my sister to send you one of the 3 volumes of sermons against popery I request you will forward it to Mr. Hinsdell.

My Wife Joyns in Thanks to your self and Lady for your kind visit to my Mother.

We condole with you on the Loss of your Eldest Daughter¹ and pray God to sanctify his hand to you.

I desird mr. Smith to Excuse me to you for I am going out of Town for Lancashire for 6 weeks and was afraid I should not have had time to assure you I am wth the Greatest Respect
Reverend Sir your most obedient serv^t

THOMAS CORAM.

[Addressed] To the Reverend Dr. Colman in Boston New England. Per Capt'n Homans.

[Memorandum] Mr. Coram rec'd Sept. 17. 1735.

LIVERPOOLE Lancashire 23d Septem'r 1735.

REVEREND AND HONRD SIR, — I addressed His Excellency the Governor last week by a few lines wherein I mentioned you in an affair I then writ on which he will Communicate to you. I came from London the latter end of July, before which, I received a Packet from Mr. Seccombe at Fort George in St. Georges River dated 22d April Containing a Letter to the Associates of Dr. Bray with some further accounts of the Indians and the Behaviour of the French Jesuit in that Quarter etc., also a Letter from him to the Reverend Dr. Watts in London and a letter to me, all open for me to seal them. The said Associates were then all or most of them gon to different parts of the Country and the Reverend Dr. Watts was in the Country also I considering those Letters would not have the same effect if I left them or Sent them, as if I deliverd them wherefore I resolved to bring them with me to make some proper use of them for the further encouragement of proscuting that Noble Designe of Dr. Williams, and before I left London I waited on Dr. Avery² once a Preacher now a Dr. of Laws and a Man of a Great Estate an Excellent man speaks Truth and is Ready to do any good in his power. I requested

¹ Jane (1708-1735), married Ebenezer Turell. Her "Memoirs" are in Colman's *Reliquiæ Turellæ*, 1735.

² Benjamin Avery, d. 1764, a trustee of Dr. Williams's Library, 1728-1764.

him to move amongst his Acquaintance the Raising something for the Purchasing proper books for the better Enabling those Young Davids on y'r Borders to Beat down the Old Goliah's French Jesuits (tho I think you have no other near you but that one of Penobscot). I can assure you the Dr. very readily Frankly told me he liked the Designe so well he would endeavour to persuade some of his acquaintance to Contribute something toward so good a Work I shall write to him thereon before I return from hence for London.

I well knowing that many wealthy and Generous men are living in this Corperation where I have been well known and Respected for many years past and was presented with the Freedom thereof anno 1691 when I was here on this side the Kingdome to adjust the True Tunnage of the ships employed for Reduction of the Kingdom of Irland, w'ch service I performed w'th Reputation, and have been well Esteem'd in those parts ever since, I Confer'd with some of the Principal Men of this Great Trading Town and Communicated to them Mr. Seccombe's letters and Explained anything which I found necessary if any such wanted it They desird the Assistance of their Minister the Reverend Mr. Henry Winder,¹ the minister of the Greatest of the 2 noble Presbyterian Meeting houses² in this Town, who is a midle aged man greatly Esteemed by every body and he is a Wealthy man has an Elegant Famely and they live in good Fashion accordingly. The heads of his People (some of Whome are Mr. Pemberton, his son in law Mr. Ogden and Mr. Danvers and Mr. Hardman) have desired him to write to you and have yo'r Answer that they may then Conclude to do something for the better preventing the Growth of Popery on yo'r Borders, but be pleased to be Cautious of mentioning any thing to him in your answer that may look like mixing the Duty and Expence w'ch the Province ought to be at, with what may be re[ceived] on the Foot of Dr. Williams' Designe, for it is thought in London, and the Reverend Dr. Hughs³ told me so thare, that the Trustees of Dr. Williams' Will would not Readily come into seting over that Branch of the Drs. Donation to the Society in Scotland because they had been told that you in New England had settled the 3 Missionaries as Chaplins to yo'r Garrisons rather than for Regaining the perverted Indians out of the Polutions of the F[rench] Jesuits. You know if their be any thing in that suspected mixture or not I

¹ (1693-1752.)

² A chapel in Bemis Garden, Red Cross Street, built for him and opened in July, 1727.

³ Obadiah Hughes (1695-1751).

know there was formerly too much Narrow Souldness in many of those then called Topmen in that Country; I shall endeavour to make the same effort at Warrington and Manchester in this County both Rich Towns as I have here before I return for London.

It has happened that the Wind has been Westerly for a week past, and Continues so, while I have been absent from hence els I should have lost this Opertunity of sending the Inclosed but should have sent it to London to have been forwarded from thence.

When you shall be pleased to write to the Reverend Mr. Winder if you Inclose it to me I will forward your letters to him without any Expence of postage to him provided the letters or Packets be not too voluminous and be directed for me to be left at the Navy Office London, and be forwarded in Common with other Letters but Capta'n Homans alwayes brings them to my Wife at his first Coming. anny letters are lost if Directed for me at the New England Coffee House I have acquainted His Excellency the Governor the Reason of it. I have also acquainted him with the Cause of my believe that no more Books can be had from the associates of Dr. Bray for yo'r Mission. Nevertheless I conceive it very proper for no Notice to be taken of it but for you to write to the Earl of Egmont or if not Directly at least address him through yo'r Letter to Mr. Smith, for His Lordship is Really a Worthy, Good, Charitable man and a Wise man which shocks me the more that he has been prevailed on by mr. Oglethorpe and others to Com into that Detestable Tenure Scheme (in) by which they Grant the Lands and Govern in Georgia whereby the Females are all Excluded from Inheriting their Fathers Lands and an arbitrary millitary Government is set up there There is some Extreordinary Designe in all this which I think I see Clearly Into, but I would no more give my Consent to it than I would to the murder of all the Children in this Kingdome: If you should write to his Lordship he would answear you with pleasure and is a Well bred man he hon'rd me with a letter last post hither. however if you write to him I conceive you will not mention anything of Georgia to his Lordship. If I succeed, as I more and more Expect from the Contents of some letters from London to me thereon in my Endeavours now under Consideration for the Settlement of Nova Scotia and Cat-Island (in which I have the friendship of many Great Men) it will tak off from Georgia.

I sent the set of Sermons preached in London the begining of this year against popery to my sister Mrs Stirling one volume

for each of the 3 Missionaries and have desired her to send you one of them and to Request you will be pleased to forward it to that of them whose name may be set in the forepart of it, when you shall have done with it.

I request you will be pleased to make my Compliments and thankfull acknowledgments to yo'r Lady and be pleased to accept of the same to yo'r self for your Joynt kind visit to my Good Mother Mrs. Waite. Your Repeating her that hon'r when it may be suiteble to your Lady and the Weather will be a vast Obligation.

I am w'th the most profound Respect Reverend Sir Your most obedient and most humble serv't

THOMAS CORAM.

P. S. Since the above was written and as I was begining to seale some other Letters the post came in from London by which my wife sent me a letter from Mr. Joseph Seccome dated 21st of June with one Inclosed therein of the same date for the Rt. Hon'ble the Earl of Egmont w'ch I shall not send to His Lordship until I have Communicated it to the Reverend Mr. Winder and some of the Chiefe of His Congregation for a further prompting them to forward the Noble Designe of the founder of the Protestant Mission to the Indians and then I will Inclosed his Letter to the Earl of Egmont. I am sure his Lordship will be highly wel pleased with it.

I have also a letter from Mr. Josiah Cotton¹ of Providence in New England thanking me for one of the Erasmus Ecclisiasticks (if I spel it right) I had no acquaintance with any of that name in New England I pray to know from you if he be a Desendant from that mr. Cotton a minister in Plymouth Colony and was, I think, an unkle to mr. Cotton Mather son of mr. Increase Mather of North Boston, who was in or about the year 1697 or within a year or two after Charged with attempting to be too Familiar with one of his Church Members Wife for which mr. Stoughton then Lt. Governor Displaced him from his Church w'ch Drove him to Carolina where he Dyed.² I happened then to be building ships at Taunton in Plymouth Colony and well understood from those who had no friendship for that mr. Cotton, That all that affair was a Base piece of villainy that the man was no more Guilty of that Crime Charged on him than you or I was; I hap-

¹ (1703-1780), son of Roland and Elizabeth (Saltonstall | Denison) Cotton.

² This was John Cotton (1640-1699), son of the first John and uncle to Cotton Mather.

pened to speak of it severall Times in Plymouth Colony and in Boston, but at that Time it was looked on a Sort of Blasphemy to Suspect mr. Stoughton could do any thing Wrong beside I did not think fit to give my self much Trouble about it having no manner of Knowledge or acquaintance wth that Cotton nor with his Nephew Cotton Mather with whome I never to my Knowledge Exchanged a Word with him in my life yet he (after the Example of a Snorting vile Fellow of Bristol County) spoke many fals and Injuring things of me to Cloath me in a Bares Skin which Hallow'd all the Hellhounds in Town and Country on to Wurry me. as I never wanted Resentment so I gave my self no paines about Mr. Cotton Mathers Unkle, and if I had, it would have had no Effect for the Generality of the People were taught to beleive I was a vile fellow an Enemy to Gods People and abundance of such Kind of Cant and Diabolical practices however I beleive that man Mr. Cotton has as much Injustice done him in that abominable Proceeding against him as those other Innocent men who were Murdered on account of the Pretended Witchcraft and that there is equal Justice due to the Children and Posterity if any, of the one as the other If you or any want further explanation I shall not faile of sending it.

be pleased to forward the Inclosed acknowledgment of mr. Seccome's letter to him

If you should happen to see the Reverend Mr. President Wadsworth I request you will be pleased to Communicate to him my most humble Respects for him and his Lady.

T. C.

LONDON 17th May 1736.

REVEREND SIR,—I sent a line or two near 3 Weeks past to the Downs to go by Capta'n Prince but know not if it reached him At [it?] was to acquaint you that I had received the favour of yo'r Letters and have forwarded and Delivered most of the Books you sent by Capta. Scutt who delivered them well as Directed I must beg leave to suspend writing more at large untill after the Parliament shall be prorogued and the King gon for Germany w^{ch} will be both within 6 dayes from this day I having something must be done before His Majesties Departure which requires my attention.

My Wife Joynes wth me in praying acceptance of our utmost Respects to yo'r self your Good Lady and Daughter.¹

¹ Abigail (1715-1745), married in 1737 Albert Dennie, a merchant of Boston.

[Oct.

I have the hon'r to be with perfect Esteem Reverend Sir Your
humblest and most obedient Serv't

THOMAS CORAM.

[Addressed] To the Reverend Dr. Colman in New England by
Capta'n Scutt.

[Memorandum] Capt Coram May 1736 rec'd July 17.

LONDON 8th Octo'er 1736.

REVEREND SIR, — I have received the favour of yo'r letter 8th June with the Books for Mr. Winder and Mr. Smith and am very thankfull for what you sent to me. you have herewith Inclosed Mr. Winders Thankfull acknowledgments as you would doubtless have had from Mr. Smith to whome I sent them in the Country where he was for the recovery of his health and is not I believe come yet to Towne he is removed from Aldgate being now Rector of the Church called Alhallows London Wall.

My friends here are Sorry to find you are discouraged from hoping for any Success among the popish Clanns or Tribes it is great pity if the best of the Missionaries were not sent where the greatest parts and Services were most Necessary but most Certainly you on the Spot are the best Judges It is certainly a Noble undertaking among the Western Indians I wish it had been begun sooner I think that ought to be encouraged and that to the eastward not to be discouraged or Dropped I hope Care will be taken by the Government as well as by the Worthy and painfull Missionaries that the Western Indians may not be Cheated by the Crafty Traders as those to the Eastward have been formerly.

I am extreemly Obliged and so is my Wife for yo'r Kind Condolence on the Death of my Sister Mrs. Stirling¹ Wee Joyne in the Tenders of our utmost Respects to yo'r self and yo'r Lady. My Wife prays to acquaint her that if she be capable of Serving her or any of her friends in any thing here and would hon'r her with her Commands for it they should be Executed with the Greatest faithfullness.

I am with the greatest Respect and perfect Esteem Reverend Sir yo'r most obedient Serv't

THO'S CORAM.

¹ "Last Tuesday [May 11] Madam *Stirling* died here of a Fever and a sore Throat, having been Ill but 2 or 3 days." *Boston Weekly News-Letter*, May 13, 1736.

LONDON 2d March 1736-7.

REVEREND AND HON'RD SIR, — I have this day received by the hand of Mr. Smith, by whome you sent them, your letter of 7th January with 4 Copies of your Excellent Sermon Preached before the General Court on the 10th of December, viz't one Copy for Mr. Smith one for Mr. Newman,¹ and one for Mr. Winder of Liverpoole and one w'ch you designed for me for w'ch I pay you my most Thankfull Acknowledgments. I have already delivered that to Mr. Smith and that for Mr. Newman and have sent that forward towards Mr. Winder at Liverpoole To whome I wrote last night. I really think Mrs. Gerrish's letters w'th Mr. Appletons Sermon² on her Death w'ch you was pleased to send him through my hand will have a good Effect on the Charity School in Leverpoole where there are about 60 boys and but 8 or 10 or 12 Girls, w'ch is an Evil amongst us here in Englan to think Girls having learning given them is not so very Material as for boys to have it. I think and say it is more Material, for Girls when they come to be Mothers will have the forming of their Childrens lives and if their Mothers be good or Bad the Children Generally take after them so that Giving Girls a vertuous Education is a vast Advantage to their Posterity as well as to the Publick I cannot say half so much on this Subject as I know and have seen the Experience of it and I believe every bodys owne Experience must tel them the Great benefit of it. Witness the good Care had of Mrs. Foxcrofts³ Education in Piety and vertue how it descended on her Children and others through them but what am I doing, am not I holding the Candle to the Sun when I say this to you that know so many fold better; I am very thankfull to you for the Sermon on Mrs. Gerrish and her letters, as I am for this Sermon of yo'rs on the 10th December I am perswaded there is great need of it I am really of opinion That the Growing Pride and Luxury both in old England and New will end in the Loss of Liberty to both. I pray God Divert it.

I am very Sorry for the Cause of yo'r Confinement I pray God restore you and Sanctify his Strokes of Bereavements they are doubtless very heavy.

¹ John Newman (1677?-1741), a trustee of the foundation of Dr. Williams.

² *Christian glorying in Tribulation*, a discourse occasioned by the death of Martha, wife of Benjamin Gerrish, April 14, 1736, by Nathaniel Appleton (1693-1784). Some of Mrs. Gerrish's letters are appended to the discourse.

³ Probably Elizabeth, wife of Francis Foxcroft, who died July 4, 1721.

As writing is very troublesome to me I am afraid my remissness in it [to] you and other friends gives offence for which I must ask pardon.

I cannot yet say whether I shall come to America or not; The matter of Settling Nova Scotia¹ on another foot than now it is viz't a perfect free Civil Government where every body may be fully free in Every respect as in England but much freer in some Respects, and to have the Detestable military Government now Exercised there to be utterly abolished, is under Consideration and seems to be well Countenanced by the Ministry The Chiefest Difficulty subsisting is breaking the Regiment there (w'ch in reality is not half a Regiment tho paid for a Whole and the Chiefe Officers remain in England w'th very high pay) and to have instead thereof three Independant Companys with a Captain, a Lieut, an Ensign, 3 Sergeants, 3 Corporals, 3 Drumers and 100 privat soldiers to each Company to be all under the Derection of the Civil Government there. these 3 Companies will Contain more effective men than the Regiment now there of 10 Companies but not Cost half so much, and the annual Savings of the Cost of that Regiment to be applyed towards Settling the Colony with Protestant Famelies. if any thing of these be denied I shall have nothing to do w'th Settling it I thank God I have more love towards Mankind than to have any hand in Introducing Slavery upon Children unborn.

I am fully Satisfyed Mr. Seccombe is as you say not so learned as one or both of the other Missioners, w'ch cannot be wondered at if as I have heard his Parents are poor, And the others Rich who could be at greater Expence to Edefy them but as he was sent to the place of the Greatest Difficulty and at a vast Distance from the emediat Inspecktn of the Commissioners (more proper according to my Weak Judgment for the Person of the Most Learning and Wisdome) and behaved well in it and was thankful for what he had received and gave some notable perticuler accounts of the Indians etc. I thought he deserved some perticuler Notice Wherefore I got him some books for himself (not for the Mission) and sent him, w'ch was the 2 parcels you saw for him and am endeavouring to get something else to send him but have not Time yet; I think I have the promis of some books for Mr. Cotton of whome I made mention to you from Liverpool. if I can get any for him I shall beg leave to send them to yo'r Care for him; I having lost his letter I know not his Christian name

¹ He petitioned the Board of Trade, April 22, 1737, for settlement in Nova Scotia, and on Cat Island, one of the Bahamas.

nor place of abode but I think it is about the Narrowganset or that way.

I hope and pray the approaching Spring may raise you to yr. former Strength and that you and yr. Lady may long enjoy health and Peace. My Wife Joynes with me in Tendering our utmost Respects to you and her.

If please God you shall be well restored of health so as to walk to the south end of Boston and will still be so very good as give my Mother a visit it will be a very great obligation on my Wife and me who am with the Greatest Respect and perfect Esteem Reverend and Hon'rd Sir your most obedient Servant

THOMAS CORAM.

LONDON 30th April 1737.

REVEREND AND HON'RD SIR,—I have taken the liberty to direct a Box of Books to you Containing a Bundle Directed for the Reverend Mr. Josiah Cotton of Providence and another Bundle Directed for Mr. Seccombe with 10 loose books in the Box and 3 out of the Box, all under the Care of Mr. Smith; your letter in favour of Mr. Cotton has put me upon geting those books for him; when you shall think fitt to send them the Books, be pleased to send the Inclosed letter for each w'ch I pray to Close with a Waffer.

My Wife Joyns with me in Requesting yours and your good Ladies acceptance of our most humble Respects and that you will be pleased to remember us in yo'r Prayers.

I pray God have you and all yours allwayes in his holy protection. I am with Great Respect Reverend and hon'rd sir Your most obedient servant

THOMAS CORAM.

[Memorandum in ms. of Colman] Extract from Mr. Corams Letter to Mr. Seccomb, Lon. April 30. 1737. A bundle of books directed to you, from the Hon Society for propagating Christian Knowledge, between 220 and 230 of them; in a Box to Dr. Colman: In the same Box is another Bundle of the same sort and quantity for Mr. Cotton of Providence, and some other loose books for him: to the care of Mr. Smith of Boston. I believe some of my friends will send you something you may want as much as books.

To Mr. Cotton of Providence, of the same Date. Two year ago you wrote to me. I have since had a Letter from Dr. Colman in answer to one of mine w'rin I mentioned you; he says you

are a very worthy Man, and some Books may be of service to you; w'rfore I applied to the Society, and they have sent you some Books, most of them very smal, 229 in all: A letter of thanks may possibly get more.

The Rev. Mr. Chandler¹ of London also gave me 13. Books for you w'ch I send to Dr. Colman; by Mr. Smith.

[Memorandum] From Mr. Coram of London. Rec'd June 22. 1737.

LONDON 9th July 1737.

REVEREND AND HON'RD SIR,—I was very much Rejoyced at the sight of yo'r kind letter of the 6th of May, the more so for that I had heard it reported a Ship from New England had touched some where in the West of England w'ch brought the Mallencholy news you were dead. I thank God you are reserved for more Great and Good Service. I really beleive Mrs. Gerrish Incomperable letters, w'ch you was so good to send, will have much good with some few Charity Schools, most Women who I have opertunity to Convers with are advocates for giving the Girls learning as well as the boyes, and easily beleive there is more good to be expected from it to the end of Time.

I hope you received a few Small new books I got for the Reverend Mr. Josiah Cotton of Providence, on yo'r Recommendation, and 13 of a bigger sort the Reverend Mr. Samuel Chandler gave me for him, also the like quantity of new books for Mr. Secombe they went under the Care of Mr. Smith about the beginning of May he very kindly promised to Deliver them to you.

I am Sorry the Mobbish Temper of the people of the Baser Sort has so far prevailed as to pull down the Markets. perhaps there were some offensive persons appointed officers of those Markets.² such men every where provokes hatred. it is Natural, if your Dog bites me and you do not hang him for it I shall unavoidably hate you for not doing me Justice upon your Dogg.

I find your Country men, tho much mended, are not become so good housbands as to preserve their Cattle from Dying in a Hard Winter for want of Sufficient outhouses barnes and Sheds as well to preserve them from the Severity of the Winter weather as to preserve Fother in for them; It is great pity their being Lords of their own Soyle should make them too Lazy to provide

¹ Samuel Chandler (1693-1766).

² See Phips' and Belcher's Proclamations in the *Boston Weekly News-Letter*, April 1 and 21, 1737.

Fother and Sheter for their good Creaturs w^{ch} God has given them. I well remember, in the Winter Coll Shrimpton Dyed anno 1697¹ I was at Taunton all that Winter, few if any had any shelter for their Cattle tho their Land was encumbered with Timber Trees. Their Cows Calved out a dores and the Calves were Frozen to Death for want of a Shead or Covering for the Cows to Calve under. Those Lazy vermin would ly all night by one anothers fire sides contriving how to hurt their Industrious Neighbours rather than take a little paines to preserve their own Cattle.

I was allwayes of opinion the Contrivance of a few merchants for their own base gaine in raising such great advantages to themselves by the paper Currency would bring a General Callamity on the Province.

I and my Wife hold ourselves under Great obligations to you and your Lady for your Kindly visiting our Good Mother. We were in Expectation of seeing her this Somer in order to the Settling Nova Scotia with good Protestant Famelies British and Foreigners under a Civil Government not military nor Arbitrary, and there is still as much likelyhood as ever that it will be done tho not this Somer but the Little Regard as is had for our Plantations makes it Still precaarious There was a Meeting of some of the Lords of the Privy Council on this affaire the 7th Instant and I am to attend a great man about it on the 11th Instant to whom it is referred for him to give his reasons for it and if it should go forward as I am apt to think it will, unless the Kings great affection for Military Forces should determin His Majesty to keep a military Government there (Detestable to all thinking men) Nova Scotia may remain a Wilderness as it now is for another 5 or 6 thousand years for any body that I know.

We are like to have very Great plenty of Wheate and other Grains in England this Harvest but not so plenty of Grass the weather having been somewhat dry and I hear the Kingdome is pretty healthy, but not very much easier in mind than you are in New England.

My Wife Joynes with me in Tenders of our Due Respects to your Self and Lady.

I am wth perfect Esteem Reverend and Honrd Sir your most obedient and most humble servant

THOMAS CORAM.

¹ Samuel Shrimpton (1643-1698), dying February 9, 1697-98.

LONDON 21st September 1738.

REVEREND AND HON'RD SIR, — About a year past a Citizen of my acquaintance told me an honest poor man in his Neighbourhood, a Joyner he had sometimes Employ'd, had told him that 2 or 3 years before, he and another Man had served at Sea in a Ship of War. Wherein was a New England Man their mesmate that Dyed whilst they were on board the said Ship, and the Captain had, at their Request, permitted them to Carry him on Shoar and bury him there, And they knowing he had some Wages due to him which his relations were never like to be the better for it or hear of unless by their Means Wherefore they had been with some New England Masters of Ships about it, Who bid them apply to the New England Merchants, who upon their application, told them it was not their business and bid them go to the Masters of New England Ships; by these discouragements they had given it over Wherefore my said Acquaintance desired I would stop at his house and he sent for the Joyner who thereupon said That before he would tell me any further perticulers, he and the other mesmate who had helped him make a Coffin and bury the Dead man on Shore had agreed not to discover any thing whereby his Wages may be recovered unless they could be well assured of having one Guinea each out of their Ded Messmate's Wages. I told him I could make no bargain about it. Nither could I suppose any person would, for perhaps there might be but little or no Wages due to him, and beside, what ever may happen to be due it could not be had by any in New England without great Expençe but so far I assured the Joyner that if it appeared the Relations of his ded Messmate were not like to get his Wages but by his and the others means I would not endeavour to serve them nor give them the least advise for it, unless I had first good assurance that they (the Joyner and his other Messmate) should have one Guinea each, if I should think it worth the relations While to be at the expence of getting it, so he believed me and then told me his dead Messmates Name was Samuel Tucket a young man of 24 years of age or upwards when he dyed he was from New London, by Trade a Ship Carpenter I told him I had no friend or acquaintance in Connecticut nor was I fond of Meddling with Connecticut folks Yet as his Dead Messmate might have a Mother or other relations living who ought to have what may be had of his Wages clear of the Charges for obtaining it I would give myself the Trouble some time or other to mention it to some Worthy Gentlemen in Boston for it is not every body there, any more than here, cares to do good to others. I Got a

proper person to find out what Wages remained due to the said Sam'l Tucket and there is 16 li. 3 s. due to him by the Kings books; I was taken Sick the next day after wth a long Sickness so never til now mentioned it. But as you have alwayes delighted in doing good I choose to Request you, Reverend Sir, to hand this account to some Worthy person of the same principal (if any there be) in or near New London who will be at the trouble of informing the Relations of the deceased Samuel Tucket Shipwright, and if they have not Tryed for it, being a Year since I had a friend Searched the books, which is not at any Expence for a perticuler friend had it done for me, And if they will now think fit to try for it, perhaps it may be Ten guineas Clear, which if well laid out in Goods here may be worth 50 or 60 pounds or more there in New England Money; I shall not concern my self any more in this or any thing else in favour of Connecticut folks yet a little While for the reasons which shall hereinafter be 'given, but I here advise what I think will be best for the said dead mans Relations to do: vizt. the person next akin to administer there, w^{ch} I think will Cost but Little at Connecticut, but there must also be some properly Worded Instrument from the proper Majistrate under the Seale of the Province to Certify that the person who shall be Admitted to Administer was so and so to the deceased Samuel Ticket etc., for little or no regard is had to any affidavit or attestations from the Plantations without the Seal of the Province to it because that cannot be easily Counterfieted, and there has been so many Cheats and Forgeries about Dead Seamens Wages and Many have been Pillered for it, the Comptrolers are very Scrupulous. There must also be a power of Attorney Witnessed by 2 Witnesses (one of Which must be coming to London if such can be had) to Some Person of the best Reputation to receive the Wages here. I know of none that would be more proper for it than Mr. Belcher of the Temple if he would vouchsafe to engage in the Trouble of it, he being well known and Greatly Esteem'd by some of the principall Officers of the Navy who will not Suspect any fraud where he is Concerned for, And may thereby Save the Expence of his Administering w^{ch} is Commonly required by this Officer in Such Cases w^{ch} is a great Expence here, I think upwards of 3 pounds w^{ch} will be well saved, if it can be. That Gentleman is a Sober Diligent valuable person of Truth and Sincerity a Credit to his Country and well Esteemed by all the best folks here who have the happiness of his acquaintance, he seems to Copy exactly after his Good Grandfather Capta'n Andrew Belcher who in my time Constantly attended his Warehouses and

other Businesses, as this does his Chambers and Studies without haunting Taverns and Helltraps as too too many of his Country men have done. If he will medle with this affair I will endeavour to get what necessary Information I can for the better accomplishing it without desiring any Reward for it, hoping every thing he touches will prosper he never is seen in any Company but what is very good and Reputable. It is 7 years at least since he came into England and I have Never seen him in any Company but what you or the Governor his Father or any Subject in England might well be seen in. If the said Deceased's Relations can prevaile on his Excellency the Governor at Boston to recommend their affaire to his Son Jonathan Belcher Esqr. of the Middle Temple he would doubtless readily obay him as soon as the proper powers should come to his hand for it.

The whole Wages due as I said before is by the Kings Books £16.3s. out of Which the Joyner and his Messmate must have 2 Guineas. There will also be one Shilling of every pound, as the Constant Custome is, to the Receivers, who attend the pays and waite the proper times to receive the Money after it is Ordered to be paid, w^{ch} would not be proper nor Comely for Mr. Belcher to attend from time to Time for it after he should have got it ordered, so that after the 2 Guineas and the 16 sh. aboue said should be deducted, there would be 13 li. 5 sh. remain and if Mr. Belcher should be able to receive the Wages with Saving the Expençe of an Administration here w^{ch} perhaps he may do by his Intrest wth the principal officers of the Navy There would, besides Mr. Belchers Charges, be Ten Guineas or near it for the Deceased's Relations w^{ch} if Poor, would be a great help to them. I heartily wish they may have it, if the man had lived to take his wages himself not one penny would have been abated him. I do not desire nor Expect any thanks from those who may be entitled to the Wages, for this Information, the favour is Small and I beleive every one ought in duty to do any good they can Yet the unhandsome behaviour I have found 2 or 3 times from persons of Connecticut (w^{ch} were all I ever had to do with of that Colony) after favours done them here will make me afraid ever to concern myself or medle with serving any more from thence.

I will take the liberty to mention only the last of them vizt. about 2 years and half past Mr. Mason¹ came hither with his Father and two Mohegan Indians to apply to the King for Redress against the Oppressive Injuries done to that Tribe by defrauding

¹ Samuel Mason. In 1742 the Indians charged him with false representations. Conn. Hist. Soc. *Collections*, xi. 50.

them of their Lands. These Gentlemen brought letters of Recommendation to the Earl of Sil Kirk¹ who is a good Natured Gentleman and readily Introduced them and their Petition to His Majesty who was Graceously pleased to recommend it to the Duke of New Castle² Principal Secretary of State to cause that Grievance to be enquired into. His Grace Ordered the Lords of Trade and Plantations to examin into the affair and found by their own books and papers those Indians had been Jockeyed in the latter part of Q Anne's Reigne by the People of Connecticut and made Report thereof and Lodged the same in the Duke of New Castle' Office for the King and there it was like to remain The Summer being far advanced the Earl of Sil Kirk went, as usual, to Scotland for some months, Mr. Mason, Father and Son, were w'th good reason under Concern at the Earls going, asked him who they could apply to, his Lordship advised them to apply to Sir Charles Wager³ as most Capable of serving them. They went to him but he having beside his being of the Privy Council and Cabinett Council the affairs of the Admiralty on his Shoulders he did not care to meddle in their affaire w'ch gave them still more Concerne. They knew that Sir Charles had some regard for me, desired I would speak to him in their favour, which I did very heartily, being Senceble of the Great Importance of having all the Nations of Indians in the English Intrest to prevent the Vast Designs of France upon our American Plantations; Sir Charles Wager gave me leave to bring them to him and told them they were in a wrong Path, for as the affair Stood no order could be given upon it because the Petition should have been presented to the King in Council (not to the King in his withdrawing room as that was done) and then the Board of Trade and plantations could have made Report to the Committee of Council but Sir Charles very Graciously told them he would speake to the Duke of New Castle and to the Lord President of the Council to have the said Report and the whole affaire into the Right Channel which was done accordingly and a Commission thereupon Granted by the King to the Governors and Councils of the Provinces of New York and Rhoad Island or any 5 or more of them to go into and meet in Connecticut and Examin and dicide the Differan[ce.] Mr. Mason the Father was dead before Sir Charles had made any progress in the affair, only I think he got it Ordered into the Right Channel. Sir Charles got all the Fees paid so that Mr. Mason was not at a penny Cost, only 30

¹ John Hamilton, third Earl of Selkirk, d. 1744.

² Thomas Pelham-Holles (1693-1768).

³ The Admiral (1666-1743).

Guineas for his own Sollicitor, w^{ch} would have been paid also if he had been so happy to have given in an account of it. More over Sir Charles Wager got a Grant or Order for Three hunden pounds out of the Exchequer for Mr. Mason for his Expences in Coming and being here and going back. This surprising goodness of Sir Charles ought Certainly to have Thankfull acknowledgements, and I advised Mr. Mason before he went hence not to faile at his coming home of writing a letter of Thanks to Sir Charles, but he has not done it, w^{ch} makes me ashamed to think of it, much more when Sir Charles has asked me how they got home and what is done in the affair etc. Such unthankfull Creatures hurts others who afterwards wants friendship, as bad as he does who puls the plank away after he's got over the Ditch. who can ever shew favour to such Creatures of no More thankfullness in them than in the baser sort of horses when they have eaten up their Provender turn their Tailles and Shi-te in the Manger.

I hope the Surviving Indian who came and returned with him will be handsomer if the Inclosed letter falls into the hand of any who will be so good as to give it safe conveyance to him. he is a youn man of Tolerable good Sence and can write pretty well I think.

If the Relations of the Deceased Samuel Tucket before Mentioned should Try for his Wages and would write to me thareon they may Direct it for me and get their Letter Conveyed to the Governor in Boston.

I am perswaded you will the more ready excuse this Trouble as it may serve some honest poor Body. I am wth the Greatest Esteem Reverend and Honrd Sir your most obedient humble servant

THOMAS CORAM.

P. S. I have left the Inclosed letter open under a flying Seal, for the Worthy Gent'n you may send it to to close it with the loss of his finger wetted, before he gives it or sends it to Cato.

LONDON 22d September 1738.

REVEREND AND HONRD SIR, — I have been Honrd with your Kind and obliging letters of the 15th of April and of the 14th July wth 3 Copys of the Excellent Sermon on 5th June last to the Artillery Company in Boston, one I delivered to Mr. Smith and another Sent to Mr. Winder in Leverpoole in a Frank'd letter, and the other I keep for my own and friends use.

The Death of that Sincere honest Gentleman Coll. Quincy¹ must be a Great Loss to His Country as well as His Family.

I am Extreemly obliged to your Goodness in being thankfull for my recovery from a Dangerous and I thought Long Sickness I Lay under at this time last year. I find by your account of your age th't I Started on the Race of Life 4 or 5 years before you I wish I could be sufficiently thankfull that I am now, God be praised, in as good health as ever, I eat and Drink and Sleep Comfortably and tho heavy can Walk 10 or a dozen Miles in a day and hope to live to see the accomplishment of the Designe of Re[s]cuing poor Miserable Exposed Newborn Infants or Foundlings from the Cruelties of their own Parents or Barberous Nurses.² I have a very hopefull prospect of the good Success of it, after many Difficulties, inexpressable ones, that attended my Solicitations in order to bring it before the the King in Council where it was well received. The Copys I did myself the favour to send you will shew what round about Wayes I was forced to take, first to get the first Rank of Ladys, then the first of the Noblemen and other Gentlemen, then a Recomendation Subscribed by may Justices and others; for without that round about way I found it was Impossible to be done, for I could no more prevaile on any Arch Bishop or Bishop or Nobleman Britain or Foreigner or any other Great Man, I tryed them all, to speake to the Late King or his present Majesty on this affair than I could have prevailed with any of them, if I had tryed it, to have putt down their Breeches and present their Backsides to the King and Queen in a full Drawing room such was the unchristian Shyness of all about the Court; After I had the Committee of Councils order to the Attorney and Sollicitor General to examin and Report on this affair the Next Difficulty was to get Money to pay all Fees for preparing and pasing a Charter, I was in hopes from her late Majesty's so much talked of extencive Goodness and Charity that the Expençe of passing a Royal Charter would have been defrayed, but I soon found myself Mistaken a little before this Time 12 month I was taken Sick, w'ch Sickness Confined me until the Queens Death³ and after that her Death Locked up all publick business for some time. Then I was to get the heads of a Charter drawn up, in

¹ Edmund Quincy (1681-1738), who died in England, where he had gone as agent of Massachusetts on the boundary between that province and New Hampshire.

² A *History of the Foundling Hospital*, by John Brownlow, was issued in 1858.

³ Wilhelmina Caroline (1683-1737), daughter of John Frederick, Margrave of Brandenburg-Ansbach.

which I lost 3 months and half or more by employing one of the very Top attorneys so called for such an affair. he neglected it and promised me from time to time notwithstanding he was to have 20 Guineas for his Trouble which a Master In Chancery promised as a Gift from his Lady who has been a good acquain[tan]ce of my Wife ever since the year 1710, but this Rich Attorney never regarded the pressing Instances I could make until the 22d of July he being to go out of Town for a Week he said, but is not yet returned set One of his Clerks to draw it up, so I found it did not contain what I liked, I rejected it and have got it done greatly to my Satisfaction by the very person employed by the Attorney General to draw up Charters and it is to my good liking so that I am Ready for them as soon as they come to Town it being now w't they call the Long vacation when the Courtiers and Lawyers are in the Country for 3 Months or more. When I get the Charter passed I will do myself the favour to send you a Copy thereof.¹ I shall not want money to pay the fees w'ch will be more than 200 Guineas to prepare, and pass the Charter through all the Offices and Officers, not withstanding it is on so Compassionate a Case, but I am told and do believe, if it was to prevent the abolishing of Christianity out of the World no Lawyer nor Office man would abate of his Fees. I have had Money sent into a bankers hand, who I prevailed with to receive and account for Benefactions for the Expence of passing the Charter, by some great Ladies, the Present L'd Mayor and another Alderman and the Duke of Bedford² 5 Guineas each but finding it took up much writing I got half a Thousand letters Printed. I inclose one of them only to shew you what they are. I had just prepared this to send into a Family in the North. I do not send it in expectation of any benefaction from New England for this affaire (there is something els w'ch would well become them to do w'ch I shall mention to you herein after if I have time) I sent one of those printed letters into Northamptonshire to a Lady at her Seat there but inclosed it together wih a Copy of the Kings order in Council hereon, in a letter to the Lord Vere Beauclerk³ one of the L'ds of Admiralty then with his Wife at the Said Lady her Aunt's house. I have the hon'r to be known to his Lordship near 20 years but not to the Lady. I have also inclosed a Copy of his Answear to my letter. I am the better pleased with myself that every Step I have taken in this affair has been exactly what I would do if I had life enough

¹ It was printed by John Baskett, the king's printer, in 1740.

² John Russell, fourth Duke of Bedford (1710-1771).

³ Afterwards Lord Vere.

Ladies and Gentlemen
We please to know
That

SEVERAL Ladies of Quality and other Persons, having EARNESTLY recommended the erecting and supporting an HOSPITAL for FOUNDLINGS, in or near *London*, where it is so much wanted, to prevent the frequent Murders of innocent Children at their Birth, by the Hands of their own Parents, to hide their Shame, beside other fatal Consequences, as breeding up Thieves, Robbers, Murderers, &c. to the great Reproach of the *British* Nation: His Majesty in Council, taking into his Royal Consideration the Representations humbly made to him on this Head, has so far declar'd his Approbation of it, as to refer it to a Committee of the Lords of his most honourable Privy Council, who have referr'd it to the Attorney and Solicitor General, to examine into the same, together with such Proposals or Heads of a Charter, as shall be laid before them for such a Foundation: But the preparing and passing a Charter for these Purposes being attended with an Expence too great to be borne by the private Person who has hitherto solicited this Affair.

It is therefore humbly recommended to compassionate and well dispos'd Persons, to assist by their Bounty in defraying the said Expence; and whatever their Liberality may happen to exceed the necessary Fees, and other unavoidable Disbursements for preparing and passing the Charter through the proper Offices, will be faithfully apply'd to the common Fund, subject to the Directions of such Trustees as His Majesty shall appoint, for bringing so necessary an Establishment to effect: And in order thereunto Mr. *Andrew Drummond*, Banker at *Charing-Cross*, will receive and account for all such Sums as shall be lodged in his Hands for this Purpose; at whose House any Benefactor to this laudable Design, will be welcome to be inform'd of the Progress already made in it; and whatever your self, or any of your charitable Friends may be pleas'd to contribute, the same will be thankfully acknowledged by all the Well-wishers to the Undertaking, particularly, with the utmost respect, by

Ladies and Gentlemen
Your humble

most obedient humble Servant

London
22 September 1738

To Ladies & Gentlemen of
London & the County of Middlesex
born & bred or otherwise

Thomas Coram

before me and was to begin it again so that I cannot find room to repent my doing this or that about it. I cannot help the backwardness or delays in some folks w^{ch} I have met with in the progress thereof.

The affair of Nova Scotia Sleeps ever since the fore part of February last when the Ministry seemed Intent on Sending out of hand One hundred or more Industreous proper Famelies to be Settled under a Civil Government, wth 4 Independant Companies of English under its Direction each Company to have Contained 100 private Soldiers, one Captain, one Lieut, one Ensigne, 3 Sergeants, 3 Corporals, 2 Drums a Chaplin and a Surgeon. This would have been many more private men than is Contained in the Rigement now there which was to have been broke there and all the officers have been provided for here. If I had gon in the direction of that Settlement I hope I should have had more hon^r and Justice than to have Suffered any one Soldier to be tricked or deminished of one farthing of the Wages or victuals, or the Cloathing yearly allowed them. But the Dread of a War put these matters out of their heads so that Nova Scotia seems like to remaine as it is £16000 per annum Charge to the Government for Wages and victuals to the Rigement Including £1000 per annum to the Colonel for being also Governor of the Province. To what purpose has this Rigement been at that vast Expence so long, but I believe the progress I have made therein will exite some or others to accomplish it on any alteration or Turn of affairs, for the Good of Nova Scotia as my endeavours for a Lighthouse on the Great Brewster w^{ch} I believe was not known to you and many others for the benifit of Nagigation of New England. be pleased to know that after it was known here the packet boat or vessel sent by the Post office by order of the Government with News of the Death of Queen Anne and Orders to the Governors to Proclaim King George was Lost on Conyhasset Rocks and all the Company Droun'd,¹ I got a Petition Prepared to be Subscribed by proper Owners and Masters of Merchants Ships Trading to New England and to be presented to the King setting forth the Security it would be to His Majestys Ships of War as well as to Merchants Ships trading to New England if a proper Lighthouse was Erected on the Great Brewster, and praying His Majesty to Recommend the Erecting and Maintaining so Beneficial and necessary a Conveniency for the preservation of the Trade of His Majesties Subjects in those parts. I also got prepared a Certificate and had it Subscribed

¹ 2 *Proceedings*, xv. 338. It was the *Howard*.

by the Captains of Ships of War having been there on the Station or otherwise, Shewing the Great Security it would be to His Majesties Ships of War and others if a Lighthouse was Erected and maintained on the S'd Grat Brewster near Nantasket on the Coast of New England all the Captains of Ships of War who I could meet w'th readily Subscribed the Certificate, amongst whome was Capta'n Fairfax¹ then Lord Mayor of York who I waited on him at his house there I having a Call to that City; all the Merchants in London who I applyed to that Traded to New England readily Subscribed the Petition to to the King and so did the Masters of the Ship who I could meet with that had traded to New England they all did it very willingly except 2 or 3 of New England who affected to be very Cautious. One whose name I forgot he was of Barnstable or some place that Way was 2 or 3 times here Master of a Vessel from Boston or Rhoad Island. I met him in Cornhill and proposed his subscribing the Petition, w'ch I had with me he Consented and I borrowed a pen with Ink at a Shop against us and he Subscribed it properly but the Moment he had done so he, I suppose thought he had done something he did not know what, claped his Thumb upon his Name and tore his own and other Names and ran out of the Shop and left the torn Petition on the Comptor, and me in the Shop. he wisely Kept out of Sight that voyage else I should have given him Trouble. The folks in the Shop saw him tare the Petition; I had then to get another Petition Subscribed w'ch I got done with Convenient Dispatch but Coll Byfield² went from home about that Time from hence where I had Stuck in his Skirts to prevent his obtaining to be Governor or so much as judge of the Admiralty again in New England, for the Intolerable Oppression that Proud base Monster had Malliciously brought on me in that Country for 3 or 4 years together and for no more Cause than you have given to me, his only pretence for it was that I had, as he said, been hard upon his Tennants Son Named Dan Throope who had Covenanted with me to build a vessell with my Timber and Plank in My Building yard at Zebulon then in Taunton now in the New Township Called Dighton on the further side of Taunton and had received his first Payment thereon and [before] he had done any thing to it found Means by the help of the Mistress of the house where I lodged in the year 1699 near my said Building yard to break open my Chest and take out the said Covenant and burnt it; I could not obtaine

¹ Robert Fairfax (1666-1725).

² Nathaniel Byfield (1653-1733), son of Richard Byfield (1598-1664), an ejected minister. He married (1) Deborah Clark and (2) Sarah Leverett.

a Warrant of the Justice in Taunton to take the Rouge up, but afterwards took him in Boston where he got his Fathers Landlord Byfield to be bound for his performance of the Work, before which tho I had been 5 or 6 years in New England had never been in Byfields his Company or spoken with him yet he used me with very Scurrilous Language and Said his being bound to me should be my Ruin, and he endeavoured it accordingly not only in Bristol County where he had a Party would do any vile thing he desired or were told would please him, even the Inferiour Judges of the Court as well as most of the Jurymen (not all) and other vile Fellows did all the Divil could put in their heads to please him and Ruin Mee. I say this Monster Byfield finding here anno 1716 he had Injured a man who remembered it and that he was never like to obtain any thing here of those I was known to, he returned I cannot say whether a Shamed or not, but he thought to Defeat my endeavours for a Lighthouse and on his arival in Boston put his Son Taylor¹ then Lieu't Governor upon putting the General Court on Erecting a Lighthouse w'ch answered my End and I think is better than if it had been done by any body else the King could have recommended it to. Thus you have the history of the begining of the Lighthouse w'ch you could Scarce have had from any else. I have the 2 petitions and Certificate now by me I happened to fall upon them as I was romaging 2 or 3 days past for some other Papers; I wish some body or other whether an honest man or a Byfield friend or Enemy would get Nova Scotia Settled under an honest Safe Free Civil Government for I believe I shall no further give myself any trouble about it. I believe I have not one Enemy living in England. I wish there was more Regard than there is had for the British Plantations those valuable Blessings to the Kingdome if suffered to be so.

You judge Rightly of Georgia The bettermost of the People are coming and going from that Wretched Colony, made so by a Wrong begining contrary to every thing I could say or do, Mr. Oglethorpe found means to get almost all to be of his party and those 2 or 3 who could not think right to be so, did not, through Modesty or Intrest or for want of Experience in plantation affairs, think fit to oppose the Oglethorpeans, so that at last I had no Second out of the 37 Trustees for opposing them being 8 or 9 Lords 24 or 25 Members of Parliament most of them Zealous Oglethorpeans then, but some of them have wholly left them, others seldom appear among them its a pleasure to me they find what I said in a Written Declaration I had read

¹ William Tailer.

at the board on the 27th of March 1734 and demanded to have it Lodged with the Records to prove true That the Inhabitants would desert from that Province like leaves from a Tree in Autumn. I think I then sent a Copy of that Declaration to his Excellency.

What I promised Just now to mention would become the peple of the better sort in New England to do, is to make a begining for some provision in favour of those of that Country who may fall into Distress here by accedent or Want of Prudence I think the Scots had a Bank in Boston for the reliefe of such of their Country as fell into Distress in New England.¹ They have one in London and in Many other places in Europe And I think there is great Reason for something like it for those of New England I have seen occations for such a thing I shall mention 2 or 3 of them vizt. some time after I returned from New England in the begining of the year 1704 there were many Seamen of New England came out of Denant Gale near St. Mallo a Town of France in the upper Bretagne where they had been carryed into by their Privateers who took them coming from New England to England. You may Imagin they came poore and needy Enough God knows how they got Credit or Sustenance whilst here The Merchants in General consults their Intrest how much per cent they shall get by laying out their Money. Those poor Exchanged Prisoners wanted to get home to their Famelies, but how they did it I know not, for as I was seting in the New England Coffee house old Mr. Hackshaw came down Stares when he saw the Master of his Ship then bound for Boston seting with me in the Coffee Roome Called to him and Said, Captain I charge you not to Suffer any passenger to come on board yo'r Ship before his passage Money five pounds to be paid. This was in my Eyes very berberouse treatment to men who had Suffered by coming in their Ships. how those poor men could do I know not I was not in Circomstances to help them nither did I know any of them I shall mention one or 2 I did know about the Time Good Mrs. Noyse² came with her Brother the Governor to London to seek Reliefe for her lameness, Mrs. Susanah Winslow now Mrs. Alden³

¹ Little is known of this Society, but in the Shaw mss. are a number of receipts for sums received by the needy. It is called the "Scots Private Charitable Society," the "Scots Box," "Scots Charity Box," or "Scots Charitable Society," the last being the official title. In 1765 John Erwing was President and William Murray, Treasurer. See *Memorial History of Boston* IV. 659.

² Ann (Belcher) Noyes, wife of Oliver Noyes (1675-1721).

³ Susannah, daughter of Edward and Elizabeth (Hutchinson) Winslow, married John Alden of Boston, November 22, 1722.

was with her, A Young Man Named John Daffin or Dafforn¹ his Mother lived near Olivers Dock The poor Young Man had Lost an Arm in an Engagement but was afterwards employed as cheife mate in the Same Merchant Service under one Capta'n Poke but whether through want of Prudence in him or Pride of the Master or both I know not, but he was discharged and having but one arm could not very readily get employment. he spent his Money and Cloths and then went to Tunbridge and by beging or otherwise got bread and remained there until the Season was over and came to Ratclif by the Thames side where he had Spent his Money but they would not entertain him having no Money and the Winter being then come on he was forced to ly on bulks and in the Street and was in a Greiveous Condition Rags and Lice and almost Starved with hunger and Cold. Somebody had told of my Wife who directed him to Mrs. Winslow now Mrs. Alden and he went to speake to her at the Governors Lodging over against the Royal Exchange on Cornhill but the Mistress of the Shop seing such a frightfull object would not hear him but caled their Porter to drive him away but my Wife coming there in the Evening told Mrs. Noise and Mrs. Winslow of him, they desired the Mrs. of the Shop to let them know if he came again w'ch he did the next day and Mrs. Noyse, good Soul, did what was very Natural to her she fed the hungry and Covered the Naked.

Another was Sir Charles Hobby² Son John, after his Fathers death Mr. Belcher ordered his Son Capta'n John Foy³ to take the poor Lad with him in the Ship Protestant Ceazer bound from Boston to the West Indias and London. here he saw Somebody advised him to come to me he was but a Child when I left Boston I enquired every thing of him I thought proper, and found Capta'n Foy had not used him Kindly or Humanly had messed him in the forecastle with a Negro during the Voyage and had Suffered every body that pleased to beat and ill use the poor Lad. I could Scarce believe it until I talked with Capta'n Foy about it who owned it all, and said he did not bring him to make a Gentleman of him (which I thought was true enough) and he would not have had him but for his Father Belcher and that he should do no better for him and what not, so I then talked with Captain Wyer who had taken Possession of the Ship Capta Foy

¹ John Dafforne or Daffern is mentioned by Savage.

² See note in *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register*, xxiv. 110. The son may be the object of Belcher's recommendation in 1732 for a fellowship in Harvard College. 6 *Collections*, vi. 474, 478.

³ He had married Sarah, daughter of Andrew Belcher, and sister of the Governor.

having left her. he, Capta'n Wyer behaved very handsomly in the matter and said if the Lad Continued in the Ship he would engage he should be well used but then he must have Cloaths and Necessaries w'ch he wanted very much so I considered that as the poor boy was the son of a Knight and that Shew and Noise has great Influence in the World especially with some folks I got him what they caled the Kings Letter to the Captain of a Ship of War, but he was emediatly Seazed with the Small pox and had it very Severely. My Wife got a Lodging and a Norse for him an Excellent good nurse for that Distemper and promised her payment. I applyed to Mr. Stephen Mason,¹ Mr. Mico Brother and him who lived and Dyed in Boston, and to 3 or 4 other Merchants who knew his Father but not one of them would Contribute a farthing towards defraying the Expençe of his Sickness so I was forced to pay it all except the Appothicary and for his Lodging who let it alone for him to pay them when able. as soon as he was well I got him on board the said Ship and I bought him a Quadran, a Callender and other books and Instruments for his voyage and Spoke to General Nicholson for him The General gave Shirst and some Cloaths of his own so we set forth John in a torerable and he was Esteemed the first of the Kings letter men on board as being best recommended to the Captain The Ship went on the Coast of Scotland and stayed there about 10 months and them came to the hope and John came up but did not let me know it some time after I saw him on Tower hill and was somewhat surprised at seing me w'ch gave me some concerne, but I did not then know he had happend to see a young Woman going to her Husband at Jamaica he was resolved to go with her she might be a vertuous Woman for ough I know or heard. he got the Captain to discharge him and give him a Ticket for the Wages due him as the Kings letter man w'ch he sold and not long after sent me a letter from the Merchant Ship in the Downs he was going in to Jamaica wherein he told me he was going to Jamaica, for that to be in a Ship of War in the post of a Gentleman and not have money to spend as a Gentleman would not be of any benefit to him therefore he chose to go to Jamaca his native place. If he had Staid in the Kings Service his having had what they Call the Kings Letter w'ch was given by the Admiralty would have entitiled him to a Commission he was since in England but did not think fit to come and see me.

There is another as much an Object of Charity as any an Industrious Woman born in Boston who I never saw but once

¹ See Savage, *Dictionary*, III. 170.

before Yesterday since she was a little Girle when I was there but I have heard her very well spoken of for a very Industrious Woman in Distress she got somebody to come to my Wife to desire her to come to her but my wife happening not be able to walk I went and found her very ill in Bed a Docter with her she seems to be in Great Distress but conjured me not to mention her name least it might prejudice her husbands Intrest or Reputation who is just got into some employment Therefore I shall not mention her name at present.

What I would say to you Reverend Sir on all this is That I beg leave to recommend it to y'r Consideration whether it would not highly become you and some others of the head Ministers in New England to propose it to some of the Wealthy people who whether going to leave the World soon or not to give something into the hands of some of the better sort of men of New England now here for the begining a New England Bank for the Releife of such honest men or Women of New England as may hereafter fall into Destresses here, surely it would redound Greatly to the happy Satisfaction of the first Contributors but let such of that Country as would be proper Solicitors for Charity here of those wealthy folks who shall come from and go to New England and other proper persons. If I was asked to name some to be Managers her I would Name Mr. Henry Newman, Mr. Richard Partidge Mr. Belch[er] of the Temple and Mr. Wilks¹ There may be others I know not fit to promote the hon'r and Reputation of New England.

I request you will send the Inclosed letter w'ch I have writ to some men of hon'r in Connecticut who will not be affraid of offending any in doing what I have therein Requested.

My Wife joynes in Tenders of utmost Respects to your Lady and beg your Remembrance of us in your Prayers I pray God preserve you to be still a great Blessing to that Country.

I have some thing further to say but shall not be so troublesome at present.

I am w'th all possible Esteem and the Greatest Respect, Reverend and hon'rd Sir your most obedient humble servant

THOMAS CORAM

LONDON 24th August 1739.

REVEREND AND HON'RD SIR,— I return you most hearty thanks for your kind letter of the 6th December which was accompanied with 2 Copies of an Excellent Sermon, a Letter from Governor

¹ Francis Wilks, agent for Connecticut.

Talcot to yourself another from Mr. Wadsworth of Hertford and a Copy of a Record of a Declaration of Owaneco and another of his Nephew Ben Uncas on the same paper. I have no manner of Doubt but that Mason did what he could to Cheat the Indians of their Lands, is there a Man of Connecticut who would not do the same.¹ I am afraid they have done it too much, their posteritys Blood may pay for it, as it has done in some other places of those who have most unchristianly Cheated them.

I perceive you think there was some Designe to Set up Cato the Indian for Chiefe of the Tribe or that he was thought to be a Man of Influence amongst them. I beg leave to assure you sir there was no such Designe nor was he ever thought here to be a person of Influence, but as you say one of Masons Schoolers; I will acquaint you the Reason of my writing to him, and since you and his Excellency have by your Mistake thought proper it should be sunk I must be obliged to send another and think to get it conveyed to him by order of the Post Masters General, to their Agents at New York. The reason is This Sir Charles Wager is not an absolute Stranger in America he has been at Piscataqu[a] Boston Rhoad Island New York Virginia and all to the Southward. he well knows the Importance of being well with the Indians on the British Frontiers and having seen Cato and the other Indian, was Greatly desirous the Indians should go away satisfyed and that their Tribe should be so too, and when I told him I had got a hatchet made here for a present to Cato according to the patternd I desired him to make for it and gave him a fine piece of old England ash for a helve or handle for it, at which he was Extreemly well pleased, I believe as much as if I had given him something of a Great Value, and some time after he had been long gon from hence Sir Charles asked me if I had heard of his geting over and had any account from the tall young man (meaning Mason). I told him not and Marveled I had received no letter from him and that I had thoughts of Writing to Cato who could read and Write, Sir said I would to well to encourage him and his Tribe that they might alwayes expect Justice from the King and it was fit the Indians should all know it for they have been greatly abused every where which was the real Motive of my Writing to Cato. And I am very very Sorry my letter [was] not by some means or other Suffered to go to him but I dare not let Sir Charles know the Governor advised against it.

Mason came to me soon after his Arival but I gave him a

¹ The deed to John Mason from the Indians is in 5 *Collections*, ix.

Cold reception for his base Ingratitude in not writing a line to Sir Charles Wager who I had Introduced him and his Father to after he had denyd himself to hear them having the affairs of the Navy on his Shoulders, and after he helped him after his Fathers Death and got £300 for him to defray the Expence of their voyage hither and back beside all the Fees in the Offices Free to him This ungratefull Brute Mason never writ Sir Charles nor me a line of thanks I dare say he will not come to me againe for I told him he should never have any favour from me nor any friend of mine What he is doing I know not I never enquire about him, but I mentioned him and my dislike of him to Sir Charles.

On the 14th Instant the King signed the Charter or the Bill so called before the Great seal is affixed. it is to my Satisfaction in every perticuler since with much Difficulty I got several amendments to it w^{ch} the Attorney Gen^l opposed I suppose he thought it a blemish to his hon^r to desire any amendments whereupon I petitioned the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council for those amendments to be made which their L^dships ordered to be done accordingly I shall get the Charter Printed and will send you a Printed Copy I have now sent my Mother a Written Copy and have desired her to send it for you to see as also an Impression of the Common Seal of the Corporation which I chose out of the affair Mentioned in the 2d of Exodus of Pharoah's Daughter and her Maids finding Moses in the ark of Bulrushes which I thought would be very appropo for an hospital for Foundlings Moses being the first Foundling we read of. The Motto round the Seal is vizt. *Sigillum Hospitii Infantum Expositorum Londinensis*. The Seal is cut in Steel but [by] a Good artist.

If there should be a Warr, a Chest or Bank of Relief in this City would be most absolutely Necessary for those of New England who should happen to fall into the hands of Enemies and after lying long in the Enimies Goales come to London Naked and Sick without Money or friends a little Money Contributed to such a bank by those who come here in good Circumstances would be of much more hon^r to their Country and to themselves, than to go from the New England Coffee house of a Saterday Night to a Publick or Private Meeting in Drury Lane so often until some of them goes to their own Country with a fistilow in their Reputation vastly differing from what is practised on those nights in New England. I always thought a Peaceable Saterday night one of the Grolies [Glories] of that Country.

The Reverend Mr. Smith presents you with his utmost Re-

spects he was about 3 years and half past presented to the Living or Rectorship of Alhallows by London Wall and soon after was married to a Beautifull young Gentlewoman who proves to be Vertuous Kind Delightful Wife without fault. Soon after His Marriage he Invited me and my Wife to any part of his house w'ch is the Parsonage house for the Sake of our Company though I believe was much more for my Wife's than for mine. he would have given us house roome but I would not accept of it on that Score, and agreed for his first floar upstares 3 or 4 Rooms where we have been 2 years and $\frac{3}{4}$ w'th the best and most agreeable Company that can be. They are both too good and too Wise to think the worse of my Wife for going to meeting, they think themselves happy in us and we know ourselves happy in them.

My Wife and I Joyne in Tenders of our utmost Respects to yourself and Lady. I am with the Greatest Esteem Reverend and Hon'rd Sir Your most obedient and most humble servant

THOMAS CORAM.

P: S. I think I may say I am sure of having 34 acres of Land in the fields before Queens Square in Ormond Street for a Scite for our Hospital and every thing proper belonging thereto it is about an equal Distance from Aldgate and from Whitehall or St. James Palace.

[Memorandum] Rec'd Oct. 24, 1739.

LONDON 3d September 1739.

REVEREND AND HON'RD SIR,—I this day saw Mr. Henry Newman who shewed me the Inclosed w'ch he received yesterday. I begg'd it of him to send to you the better to Confirm the real Necessity of a New England Bank for relief of such New England Folks on this side the World who fall into Distress here; If it were once begun though but by a very small Matter by some few folks of the best Esteem and Character it would soon increase here if put into proper hands to be appointed by the first Contributors and be greatly to the hon'r of New England as well as a real Comfort and preservation to those of it who happen by some accident or other to fall into Extream Want and no Care taken of them being Strangers here.

I have the hon'r to be w'th profound Respect Reverend and hon'rd Sir yo'r most obedient ser't

THOMAS CORAM.

LONDON 13th September 1740.

REVEREND AND HON'RD SIR, — It having pleased the Almighty God to remove my dearly beloved Wife from hence by death in the Middle of July Worn out by long Sickness, I was Married to her a little above 40 years during which time she never once gave me Cause to be angry or vexed at her, she was always a Sincere Christian of an humble meek and Quiet Spirit and Wisely Study'd my Peace and Comfort and was to her Life's End a vertuous kind and Prudent Wife without fault. She Chearfully bore an affectionate part in all my Toyls and affections. By her Death I am hereaved of one of the best of Wives but as it is the hand of the God of Mercy, I humbly Submit and beseech His Divine Majesty to Sanctify this Stroke to me.

I am Strong and pretty Successfull in accomplishing the Establishment of my Darling Project the Hospital for the Maintenance and Education of Expos'd and Deserted Young Children; after the Charter was passed in October last I got an Act of Parliament for Confirming and enlarging the Powers therein Granted. We had an Offer made to lett us Mountague House by Lease for an Hospital but that could not be accepted. Yet that offer Hurted the Charity very Much. We have between 5 and 6000 pounds in Cash paid in, 326 annual Subscriptions and 2300 li. Legacies not yet received. Benefactions are at a Stand because we have not began to Build yet which I think we should have done before now.

I have found Many weak persons, more Ladies than Gentlemen say such a foundation will be a promotion of Wickedness; I was about 3 Months past at a Nobleman's at Diner where many of the Learned men of the universitys come and 4 or 5 of them dined there that day. after Diner came in a Gentleman a friend of the Nobleman came in and asked the Learned men (I found he knew them) if they would set to and write something to convince a Woman of her Mistake about this Intended Hospital and Said his Wife had, by the Will of one of her Relations 3000 li. left to her Care and Management for Erecting a Charity School in a Certain Parish for a Certain Number of Children and Said the Parish where 'the School by the Will was to be Erected would not accept of the Money on Such a Condition because the Intrest of the Money is Much falln and they the Parish Officers could not afford to feast themselves out of it. whereupon this Gentleman said he had been trying to perswade his Wife to give it to this Hospital, she said she would by no means encourage so wicked a thing whereof he desired any of those Gentlemen of Learning

to draw up somthing and have it printed but they all excused themselves. I was sorry for their refusal. Met the next day with Mr. Samuel Chandler a Son of Mr. Chandler¹ who I have been told Succeeded you at Bath. this Gentleman was Bred a Book Seller but has for Several years past Preached in the Meeting² where Mr. Showers³ used to Preach he redily complied with my Request and so that it should be printed and sold by a High Church bookseller that nobody here might know who or what he is that Writ it, it gives great satisfaction. I have sent one of the Copys to my Wife's Neice Mrs. Unice Greenleaf⁴ in her box for you. she is at her Father's Mr. Thomas Wallis they will send it to you when the box comes on there from Capta'n Hall.

I am affraid my Dear Wife's Death will break her poor Mother's heart.

I request you will be pleased to make my Compliments acceptable to your Lady I wish you both health and Peace and beg leave to subscribe me Reverend and Hon'r'd Sir your most obedient and most humble ser't

THOMAS CORAM.

P: S The Reverend Mr. Smith, where I and my Wife have lived above 3 years and half, and his Wife have been the Most Civil folks and always treated my Wife with the Greatest regard that was Possible notwithstanding my Wife went to Meeting he had thought to have writ to you since my Wife Dyed but is afraid it will be unacceptable to you because he sess he has writ twice since he had the favour of a line from you.

Sir Charles Wager told me Mason has got a New Commission so there will be an Opertunity and a proper time for those Concerned to set forth the Rougery of Concealing the Deed w'ch the Indians gave and which they were made to believe was Burnt.

[Memorandum] Mr. Coram. 1740. Answered Nov. 22.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. A. B. HART, PERRY, SHATTUCK, and General SCHAFF.

¹ Samuel Chandler (1693-1766), who opened a bookshop because his wife's fortune had been lost in the South Sea bubble.

² At the Old Jewry.

³ John Shower (1657-1715).

⁴ She married Stephen Greenleaf (1704-1765). Her mother was Grace Wayte (b. 1681) who married, April 7, 1702, Thomas Wallace.





CHS

E. H. Clement

MEMOIR
OF
EDWARD HENRY CLEMENT

BY SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON

EDWARD H. CLEMENT, editor of the *Boston Transcript* and lover of mankind, was born at Chelsea, Massachusetts, on April 19, 1843. He was a descendant of Robert Clement, who came from England to Haverhill, Massachusetts, in the ship *Clement and Job*, in the early days of the Bay Colony. Both his parents, Cyrus and Rebecca Fiske (Shortridge) Clement, were originally of Claremont, New Hampshire. Cyrus was a wholesale woolen merchant in Boston, fairly prosperous until the fire of 1872 wiped out his stock and business.

Chelsea, at the time of Ned Clement's boyhood, was a typical New England town by the sea, of white houses and spacious grounds, elm-shaded and lilac-embowered, a favorite place of residence for Boston merchants and professional men. The Clement house was on a knoll with a wide outlook, and Ned's first memories were of the clipper ships, being built or launched in nearby East Boston, or putting out to sea past Apple Island. He had six or seven brothers and sisters, all devoted to each other and to their mother, who was a woman of unusual sensitiveness and feeling for beauty. Each member of the family played some musical instrument, and most of them took part in the debating societies and other typical activities of the New England town of that day.

In the autumn of 1860 Ned entered Tufts College, then a new and struggling institution. Before his freshman year was over, the Civil War broke out. After two of his elder brothers had enlisted, Ned went to a recruiting office and

did likewise by falsifying his age; a patriotic deception which proved of no avail against the parental veto.

He returned to college. Even in the years of currency inflation, the cost of an education at Tufts was incredibly low. Edward's term-bills show an average expenditure of sixty dollars a year for tuition and room rent, and three dollars a week for board.

In the winter of 1862-63, he left college to become principal of the high school at Stow, Massachusetts. Neither the place nor the profession suited him, and he returned once more to College Hill, graduating with his class — seven in number — in July, 1864. At the commencement exercises he delivered the valedictory oration, on "The Enthusiasm of Genius."

During the summer the young B.A. visited one of his brothers, a Union officer stationed at Hilton Head, S. C. Entering Savannah with the Union army, he met two New York newspaper men, who under military authority seized the *Savannah Morning News*, and placed Edward Clement, now in his twenty-first year, in charge as editor. He had youthful enthusiasm, courtly manners, and sympathy for the defeated people among whom his lot was cast; but he also wished to uplift the freedmen, an attitude which made it impossible to pierce the hostile atmosphere of Savannah. After sticking it out for two or three years he gave up his position and returned northward.

In 1868, Mr. Clement went to New York, and became a reporter on Horace Greeley's *Tribune*. His work pleased the then editor, John Russell Young, who advanced him to city editor in 1869. About May of that year he resigned, apparently because he had been made the scapegoat in a dispute between the *Tribune* and the Associated Press. The New York *Sun* characteristically remarked: "Mr. E. H. Clement, the one-hundred-and-eighty-ninth city editor of the *Tribune*, has accepted an editorial situation on the Newark *Advertiser*. Mr. Clement writes pure English, flavored with sound common sense." "He and N. C. Meeker were the Beau Brummels of the *Tribune*, only 'Clem' wore all the good clothes," stated the New York *Telegram*, adding that Mr. Clement "is a success on the *Advertiser*, as

Boston notions are well received in Newark." For a few weeks before obtaining the Newark post, he did space-writing for several New York papers, including the *World*, for which he served as special correspondent on President Grant's trip to Boston with Jay Gould and "Jim" Fiske.

The same year that he went to Newark, 1869, Mr. Clement married Miss Gertrude Pound, of New York. She was a devoted wife, and their twenty-six years of married life were very happy. Within a few years Mr. Clement left the *Advertiser* for the *Register*, and at the same time became editor and proprietor of the Elizabeth (N. J.) *Journal*. Early in 1875 he was offered the assistant editorship of the *Boston Transcript*. "In our years of professional fellowship with him," wrote the editor of the Newark *Advertiser*, "we have found him scholarly in thought and reading, earnest in duty, firm in discipline and obstinate in opinion. . . . We congratulate the *Transcript*."

The *Boston Evening Transcript* was indeed to be congratulated on acquiring this young man, who was destined to guide it from obscurity to a unique position in American journalism. At that date, 1875, the *Transcript* counted for very little as an organ of opinion, or of anything else. It had once been edited by a woman, and still exhaled the aroma of that association. It specialized in harmless local and personal gossip, and in columns of "Facts and Fancies" and "Maxims worth Knowing." The book reviews and literary comment, written by Charles E. Hurd, were, however, excellent; and the circulation, though very small, was "select." It was a good foundation to build upon; but unless the building were done quickly, it would decay in the shade of the journalistic skyscrapers that were shooting up on every side.

Mr. Clement was put in immediate charge of the musical, dramatic and artistic departments, and soon raised these to a higher standard than that of any newspaper in New England. His influence, moreover, invigorated the entire journal. He wrote crisp, pithy editorials on current politics; he introduced new features, several of which are still in the *Transcript*, such as "Musical Matters," "Art and Artists," "Notes and Queries," "Divers Good Causes,"

and "School and College." Consequently, when Mr. William P. Hovey retired in 1881, Mr. Clement succeeded him as editor-in-chief; a position that he held for twenty-five years.

Mr. Clement's character and disposition were not well suited, one would think, to the editorship of a great city newspaper. His temperament was artistic, his tastes literary and musical, his political ideas were liberal, in the nineteenth-century meaning of the word, and he was above all a humanitarian idealist. One of his closest associates, himself an editor, has said of Mr. Clement, "More than any other man I ever knew, he led the New Testament life": a statement which serves to deepen the mystery of his success. He was generous and confiding, giving freely of his time, money and advice to the poor, the struggling, the unfortunate; and not always discriminating in the objects of his generosity, or in the causes that he espoused. He was loyal to a fault, withdrawing his trust in a friend or his support from a public man only with the greatest reluctance, and after repeated provocation. His political and economic beliefs were formed more by his heart than by his head. Nevertheless, the *Boston Evening Transcript*, which seems to the present generation one of the most ancient and solid of Boston institutions, is in great part a monument to Mr. Clement's skill and character. Most of the features and departments whose excellence give the paper its peculiar stamp — the notable exceptions being the business, sporting and financial departments — were either established by Mr. Clement, or by men secured by him.

Opinion differs considerably as to the precise extent of Mr. Clement's influence in building up the *Transcript*, and it is difficult for an outsider to form a just estimate. He was never so completely identified with his paper as Greeley with the *Tribune* or Dana with the *Sun*; and, as he never had any share in the ownership, he could have accomplished nothing without some measure of support from the owners. On the other hand, no one who knew the situation seems able to name any one of the many capable journalists connected with the *Transcript* whose influence on its development was in any way comparable with Mr. Clement's; and it seems to be generally agreed that his was the guiding brain.

Certainly the character of the paper down to 1900, was very similar to that of its editor-in-chief.

All American newspapers that have survived were expanding fast, in the eighties and nineties; but none expanded in quite the same way as the *Transcript* under Mr. Clement. It was in no sense a popular journal, and was insensitive to broad currents of public opinion. In politics it was independent and liberal. It was not sensational, and never acquired the slightest tinge of yellow. It published no sporting news, or illustrations, or Sunday edition. But its virtues were more positive than negative. It was sensitive to injustice and oppression, particularly outside New England; and highly appreciative of excellence in every form, wherever found. New movements and tendencies, particularly in art, literature and music, were treated with interest and respect, instead of the jibes and sneers which they generally encounter from a successful newspaper. In a word, the *Transcript* well represented the educated native Yankee *intelligentsia* (the New England Brahmin caste, as Dr. Holmes, coiner of the phrase, meant it), into which Mr. Clement was born.

The position of editor-in-chief was no sinecure. Mr. Samuel P. Mandell, one of the principal owners of the paper, returned from a European trip in 1884 to find with dismay that the *Transcript* had "gone mugwump," — it was supporting Cleveland for President against Blaine. Mr. Mandell found it impossible to turn his editor from this course. The personal relations, or lack of relations, which were established between the two — and which lasted until their deaths, occurring in the same week — may be deduced from the following letter in Mr. Clement's files:

33 Summer St.
Sept 4th 84.

MY DEAR CLEMENT: — I congratulate you and the rest of the so-called Independents upon the honor and honesty of your party. It used to be said that there was "Honor among thieves," but it seems that there is not honor enough among your party to cast an honest ballot for their own candidates. I think the *Transcript* will rue the day when it went *into such company*.

Yours truly,

S. P. MANDELL

C. F. Hovey & Co.
Boston, July 8th 1886.

E. H. CLEMENT, Esqr.

DEAR SIR: — Yours of 7th to hand, and contents noted. Were you and I more “in accord” the letter I wrote you on the 6th (and which I now regret exceedingly) would not have caused the trouble that it did, and would have been taken in an entirely different spirit. Unfortunately for me, but probably fortunately for “The Transcript,” you told me you wanted *none of my advice*. I have never since that time given it. But I can’t see why I may not express my opinions once in a while, and that too without creating a disturbance in the office — and worrying Mr. Durant who has enough on his shoulders without any such disturbance. As I said before I regret writing and sending you the letter, for the above reason; but my ideas are not changed, and I *have* “fresh hatred for the causes” of the troubles in South Ireland, which troubles are first *Laziness* and 2d Ignorance and, as Goldwin Smith says, egged on by politicians. And the reason that the prominent men of this country say nothing against “home rule” is that they want Irish votes. Yours truly,

SAM P. MANDELL

Transcript Office
Boston, July 8 1886.

S. P. MANDELL, Esq.

DEAR SIR: — As you hold no personal relations with me, I could not but consider your letter addressed to me as editor, and hence concerning everybody involved in setting the course the paper takes — for no position ever has been or ever will be taken arbitrarily by myself alone, against the advice of Mr. Durant and my colleagues. We do our best to keep the paper’s character and prosperity what it was in the past, and the public seems to approve and support our efforts. I have had the misfortune to incur your hostility on account of political differences. I have never knowingly treated you discourteously, unless it be discourteous for me to firmly assert my responsibility as editor and my purpose, as long as I may be editor, to have the paper edited in this office, and nowhere else. I can not do otherwise and be faithful to the responsibility. Very respectfully yours,

E. H. CLEMENT

This atmosphere of armed truce was not a pleasant one to work in. But Mr. Clement had so revived the *Transcript*, and his personality had brought it such prestige, that

he became indispensable to the owners. He compromised to the extent of allowing others in the office to direct the editorial policy during presidential campaigns; but throughout his tenure of office the *Transcript* was distinctly liberal in its politics. Its columns were open to everyone — Irish home-rulers, friends of Armenia, single-taxers, anti-vivisectionists, and women suffragists; and several of these, and even less popular causes, were supported in the editorial columns. Lucy Stone, in a letter of 1891 to Mr. Clement, declares herself: "Always grateful for the good service the *Transcript* renders to the cause of Women." Mr. Clement always refused to have in the *Transcript* a "woman's page," a feature beloved by contemporary journalists, preferring to make the entire paper of such character that it could be read by intelligent men and women alike.

One of the greatest services Mr. Clement performed for his newspaper and for the community was the encouragement of young men with a literary bent. Hamlin Garland speaks appreciatively of Mr. Clement's encouragement, in his autobiography. Ralph Adams Cram made his first public appearance in the columns of the *Transcript*. The services of the late William F. Apthorp as musical critic were secured in the early days of Mr. Clement's editorship, and retained against the wishes of Mr. Mandell. Mr. Apthorp's able successor, Mr. H. T. Parker, was taken on in 1891; and in May, 1893, he wrote Mr. Clement: "Whatever I have done and whatever I may do I owe to the *Transcript* and the start it gave me, and personally to you most of all." This interest of Mr. Clement in young men continued to his death; and he remained so young at heart that in the latter years of his life, when over seventy years of age, he belonged to a lunch club of which he was the only member over thirty-five.

Mr. Clement did not lose touch with metropolitan journalism. He corresponded frequently with critics like William Winter, R. W. Gilder, and E. C. Stedman. In 1882, at Whitelaw Reid's invitation, he began contributing a weekly Boston letter to the *Tribune*, which at that time made a feature of weekly letters by telegraph containing news and gossip from other cities. A good deal of local history is

preserved in these *Tribune* letters of Mr. Clement as may be seen from the following specimens for 1883:

Boston, Feb. 3.—The Republican State Committee's choice of young Henry Cabot Lodge for chairman is interpreted in two ways—one that the "Old Guard" definitively surrenders to the new blood, and the other that the chance of success is so desperate that only venturesome youth can be induced to undertake the responsibility of next year's campaign. There was really no serious competition on the part of ex-Collector Beard, the one other prominent candidate for the post. Mr. Lodge has been defeated by prejudice against "aristocracy" in his two last attempts to secure the Republican nomination in the Lynn-Nahant district, where he resides in the summer, but he has shown so much persistency and "practical politics" in his canvasses that he has won the respect and admiration of the politicians. He is the gentleman and scholar in politics without the guilelessness and squeamishness of the said gentleman and scholar. He will organize a cool, thorough and able campaign to win, and will claim his reward in due time.

Boston, April 5.—Another topic that has made a far deeper stir in Boston this week is the new departure taken by the Old South pulpit in receiving young Mr. Gordon as its minister. After a long and deeply moved session of the council of orthodox Congregational ministers he enters that venerable pulpit declaring that he rejects utterly the foundation-stone of Calvinism, the vicarious atonement. Christ came into the world not as a sacrifice but as an enlightener and emancipator of man's mind in religious faith. The young divine professes himself still a student and answers his questioners that he does not know enough about the world to come to state precisely what goes on there; but he is convinced by his reason that punishment cannot be everlasting unless sin is everlasting. He finally received the votes of 46 to 18 against him, and the Rev. Dr. Webb refused to administer the oath to him. It is freely stated that had the council rejected him he would have been put into the pulpit all the same, the upholders of the "new departure" in Andover theology having reached the determination to take their stand here and now. The Rev. Dr. George E. Ellis, the eminent Unitarian historian, pointed out in his speech at the installation supper, which had been much delayed by the tough struggle in the council, that this Old South Church, like every other of which he had ever heard, began in a quarrel. He also recalled the times when the "gentlemen" only ruled in

the business of the churches. This had a particular pointedness from the circumstance that the new minister was a few years ago a poor mechanic, a friendless young Scotch immigrant at work in a South Boston safe factory.

BOSTON, April 28. — The combat deepens. Last week witnessed the establishment of a deadlock between Governor Butler and the Legislature on the appropriation bills for the charitable and correctional institutions. This week he has locked horns with the Board of Health, Lunacy and Charity, and with the Attorney-General's office. The Governor sprang his mine upon the Tewksbury Almshouse trustees on Monday. It was a genuine surprise to everybody. The Board of Health, Lunacy and Charity, who were ordered to relieve the trustees, were apparently more bewildered and dismayed than the ejected board. Frank B. Sanborn, of the first-named board, an inveterate enemy of Butler's, but an equally inveterate pursuer of the Marshes under the old Board of State Charities, of which he was chairman, was suggested by the Governor as provisional superintendent of the almshouse under the Board of Health, Lunacy and Charity, acting as trustees. Sanborn immediately wrote to his old enemy, who was offering him the chance to put another old enemy under his feet, that "no earthly consideration" would tempt him to assume Marsh's place. Then the Governor flew into a passion (in an official interview manifolded to the press from the Executive office) and abused Sanborn with his choicest virulence.

The Board meanwhile had held a meeting and adjourned to Saturday after merely voting to refer the Governor's order to them to the Attorney-General for his opinion as to whether the Governor could order the Almshouse trustees out and the Health Board into the Almshouse. This action the Governor also took in high dudgeon rating the Board for their contumacy and declaring anew that if every official in the State should attempt to balk him he would still fight single and alone to save the poor from being "murdered at Tewksbury and cut up at Harvard." Then he turned upon the Attorney-General's office and demanded of the Assistant Attorney in charge by what right he was going to give counsel to a Board that had no right to go to the Attorney-General for opinions, and further, what business he had to be giving opinions anyhow in the Attorney-General's absence. The Assistant Attorney-General merely replied that he had already informed the Board that the law did not authorize them to appeal to him, and as to giving opinions in his chief's absence, that was precisely his duty and what the Governor himself had called on

him to do in several instances. So the week has worn till to-day in this exchange of wild blows, none of which reached home. The Board has compromised by accepting the trusteeship without removing the Marshes, appointing an inspector over them instead. This is only just to persons under trial, and baffles Butler for the time being.

Another cross for the Governor this week has been the defeat of the Meigs Elevated Railroad scheme. It is a curious and significant fact that this project, which has threatened Boston real estate now for three years, had the substantially unanimous party support in this Legislature of the Democrats. Butler and his chief henchmen have vigorously worked for it, and foreign as it seems to party politics, it has still been made a party question.

As an example of Mr. Clement's tact and sympathy, a brief editorial note of congratulation to Walt Whitman for having lived through one of his last winters, called forth the following epistle:

CAMDEN May 6 '91.

Thank you heartily — & thank Clement & all — for that deep deep ¶ in May 4th T[ranscript] ab't me at date &c; It is in some respects the most delicious morsel ever proffered to me & goes to the right spot curiously — an old fellow's heart's and brain's gratitude to you all — I am stumbling & tottering purblindly along these last concluding few days & paths & essays — my mentality & right arm responsive — the rest utterly wreck'd —

Love to you & frau — & the editor & all the boys — If Clement sh'd care for this note, give it to him with best remembrance

WALT WHITMAN¹

In the meantime, Mr. Clement had acquired a distinctive position in the little artistic and literary world of Boston. During the early days of his editorship, the New England galaxy, as he once expressed it, was "flickering to a close"; but a lesser constellation was arising, grouped somewhat irregularly around Mrs. James T. Fields, Thomas Bailey Aldrich, William Dean Howells, and John Boyle O'Reilly. Mr. Clement's wide interest in and knowledge of things of the spirit, his fine presence and charming manners, and delightful conversation, gained him the friendship of these men and women. His house was one of the centers of intel-

¹ Recipient unknown. The letter is in Mr. Clement's files.

lectual Boston. Major Higginson frequently wrote asking his advice on matters pertaining to the Boston Symphony Orchestra and Colonel Lee as frequently gave his advice on many subjects. Mr. Clement entertained visiting actors and actresses, such as Henry Irving, Mrs. Fiske, and Madame Modjeska, and formed many warm friendships among them. He also wrote occasional poems and essays, some of which were published; and plays, which were seldom performed save privately; although a dramatization of Daudet's *Rois en Exil* was purchased by Irving. Another play was accepted by Mrs. Fiske and pronounced by her the greatest American tragedy, but when she was ready to put it on the stage, Mr. Clement, with his characteristic carelessness in practical affairs, had mislaid the manuscript; and it was never recovered. During the latter years of his life he took up painting as a hobby. His portraits and landscapes were modernist in character, seeking to express the inner content of the subject rather than its superficial appearance.

Nor were his friendships confined to Boston, or to purely intellectual circles. Perhaps the first reference to Mr. Roosevelt in the press is a report in the *Transcript* of February 23, 1878, of his remarks on the English sparrow, at a meeting of the Nuttall Ornithological Club at Cambridge. On April 23, 1884, the *Transcript* calls attention editorially to "the rising member of the New York Assembly, Mr. Roosevelt"; and shortly after, their common interest in civil service reform drew the two together. Their ways parted in 1899, when Mr. Clement became a prominent member of the Anti-Imperialist League. Success and high position never in the least dulled the edge of Mr. Clement's humanitarianism, or lessened his weight on the unpopular side of the angels.

Mr. Clement's relations with the proprietors of the *Transcript* were somewhat ameliorated around 1890, when Mr. George S. Mandell took an active part in the management of the paper; but not for long. Hitherto the *Transcript* had been conducted rather penuriously. Money was now supplied to enlarge the staff and increase the services; and by 1891 the paper had acquired substantially its present make-up and appearance. But Mr. Clement never took any interest in the purely business end of journalism, and his

liberalism, especially in its quixotic aspects, became increasingly galling to the owners. He wished to continue broadening the policy of the paper, at a time when the general tendency of American journalism was to make a stand against the various 'isms that were beginning to loom somberly. Finally the time came when the owners felt that they could afford to dispense with Mr. Clement. In March, 1906, at the age of sixty-three, and approaching the close of his twenty-fifth year as editor-in-chief, he was superseded by our present associate, Mr. Robert Lincoln O'Brien. The proprietors urged him to continue his connection with the paper as writer of the "Listener" column. He was too old to seek a new position. He had saved nothing from his none too ample salary, nor had he taken advantage of any of the numerous opportunities that fall to a newspaper editor, to feather his nest. Consequently he was forced to accept this rather humiliating offer, which, according to the contemporary ethics of American journalism, was considered "letting him down easy."

From 1914 until his death on February 7, 1920, Mr. Clement lived at Concord with his daughter, Mrs. Eleanor Clement Jones. He continued his interest in "every good cause," was always ready to drop everything and spend his last cent to rescue someone in distress. President Wilson's war policies, and the League of Nations, found in him an enthusiastic supporter. He kept up with the latest and best in literature and painting; the "Listener" was one of the first voices in America to hail Robert Frost as a poet worthy of the New England tradition.

Readers of the placid paragraphs of the "Listener" little suspected the inner fire that burned within their author. As Mr. Clement grew older, his perception became sharper. Age and experience, instead of cooling the clean and generous ardor of his youth, seemed to fan it to a clear, white flame. It was a flame that burned only for a few; and he was content that it should be so. "After all," he wrote in a letter, about six weeks before his death: "When one has waited as long as I have, he can easily contain himself a little while longer, and some day nothing will matter to him, anyway. Meanwhile he has had a better time than anybody but himself knows."

NOVEMBER MEETING

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 9th instant, at three o'clock, P.M. Mr. NORCROSS was chosen to preside.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From Henry Besson Thomas, of South Orange, New Jersey, several papers of the Chief Justice Lemuel Shaw family, 1723-1850.

From Rev. Daniel Munro Wilson, of Dover, Mass., a Bible, London, 1601, containing the Hovey family record.

From Henry R. Dalton, letters received by Charles Henry Dalton, from his brothers in the army, from January 31, 1859, to May 28, 1866.

By purchase, a volume of notes of sermons, preached at Cambridge, May 10 to May 31, 1719, and at Northampton, mostly by Rev. Solomon Stoddard, September 20, 1719, to May, 1720.

By purchase, a deed and duplicate, on parchment, by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to Dr. Thomas Ruston, of Philadelphia, August 26, 1794, of lands in Townships 4, 5, and 6, now respectively in the towns of Steuben, Harrington, and Addison, of Washington County, Maine, with plans of the townships by Lothrop Lewis, of Gorham.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following gifts:

From the Naval History Society, New York, a half-tone of the battle between the Constitution and Guerriere, August 19, 1812, from the original water color by Garneray in 1818, in the possession of that Society.

From Walter Gilman Page, a bronze reproduction of the Seal of the Sons of the Revolution which appears on all of the tablets erected by that Society; also a photograph of the copy of the Edward Winslow portrait in the State House.

From William T. Clark, a photograph of the Society's painting of James Savage, its president.

From Mrs. Whitman Ware, some Greek and Roman coins.

From Mr. Norcross, seven posters of recruiting in Ward 5, Boston, 1864-65, issued by Otis Norcross, then alderman and recruiting officer.

Philip Hale, of Brookline, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

Clarence Walworth Alvord, of Minneapolis, Minnesota, was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society.

Dr. J. C. WARREN presented, with brief remarks, in behalf of Dr. and Mrs. Samuel J. Mixter, a picture of the ruins of the great Boston Fire, of November 9 and 10, 1872, by John J. Enneking from a sketch taken by him the morning after the fire. Mrs. Mixter's father, Charles William Galloupe (1858-1903), had this picture made to his order.

Mr. NORCROSS supplemented Dr. Warren's remarks by giving some of his recollections of the fire on this fiftieth anniversary.

Mr. MURDOCK read a paper on

THE BRITISH AT CONCORD — April 19, 1775.

In considering any phase of the battle of the 19th of April, 1775, we must have always in mind the hatred that existed between the soldiery and the people. The bitterness of the troops was born of long and strict confinement within the crowded area of old Boston, a period marked by bickerings with the townsfolks and by the ensuing court-martials and punishments. On the other hand the hatred of the rebellious element for the soldiers had become fanatical in its intensity. It was useless for Gage, a pacific and humane man, to attempt to persuade his critics that the army was in Boston to preserve order and to protect all law abiding citizens in the enjoyment and exercise of their legal rights. The inflammatory appeals of Samuel Adams and his colleagues nullified all the conciliatory efforts of the British Governor, and history presents him as rather a pitiable object in his lack of influence and in his distaste for strong measures. Among his officers there was always the clamor for action, treason would quail before force strongly exercised. There were other officers, and Percy was among them, who opposed any such move as the Concord project as at once petty and fraught with great risks, a dangerous game, the winning of which would not be worth the candle. Gage was at his wits' end to maintain the morale

of his command and at the same time to appease the unappeasable element in the population. He was driven hither and thither by every wind of doctrine before reaching his final and fatal decision.

British accounts indicate that the expedition comprising all the Grenadiers and Light Infantry in the garrison went out less than 700 strong.¹ As we know, Lieutenant Colonel Smith of the Tenth Regiment was in command, accompanied by Lieutenant Colonel Bernard of the Royal Welch Fusiliers, and Major Pitcairn of the Marines. Perhaps these gentlemen welcomed the chance to perform military duty in the field. There was at least the stimulus of a military object to be achieved and a bloodless success might even bring them honorable mention and perhaps ultimate preferment. Let us for a moment indulge in the harmless diversion of glancing over the contemporaneous evidence upon both sides for information as to how these three brethren in arms fared upon their way.

¹ The strength of Smith's command cannot be stated with certainty but we know that the regiments were all far below their normal strength. American estimates give from 800 to 1000 men. An anonymous letter from an Englishman in Boston (*Detail and Conduct of the War*, p. 9) says 800. Captain Evelyn of the 4th Regiment (See *Memoirs and Letters of*, p. 53) says they made "near 700 men." Lieut. Barker says "about 600," and he was in the detachment. Lieut. Mackenzie of the 23rd Regiment informs us that the combined strength of Percy and Smith "did not exceed 1500 men." (2 Mass. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, v. 396.) He also gives the actual strength of his own regiment under arms on the 19th of April, as 282 rank and file. Mackenzie is a careful and convincing statistician and it is worthy of note that disregarding the wild estimates of his colleagues he placed the Provincial strength "actually assembled at the close of the day" at 4000. That Mackenzie was a good guesser has been proved by Mr. Frank Coburn of the Lexington Historical Society, for as the result of recent work among the muster rolls in the Massachusetts State Archives, he finds the number of Americans engaged to have been 3763. In an intercepted letter printed in *Force* (4th Series, II. 440) a private soldier says that "twenty-one companies" went out with Smith. If the soldier was right, this would probably mean that nine complete regiments in Boston sent two companies each, the Marine battalion two companies, while a battalion consisting of three companies of the 18th Regiment (Royal Irish) contributed a single company. These 21 companies at 28 men each, the known strength of the 23rd Regiment, would give Smith a total strength of 588 rank and file. I fancy that Mackenzie's estimate of the combined forces was a close one and if we assign 600 to Smith and 900 to Percy's Brigade we are very near the truth. Mackenzie was in a position to know the facts and had he been inclined to exaggerate the numerical inferiority of the troops he would hardly have set the American numbers so low.

Smith must have realized that the success of his mission depended upon secrecy and speed. He did not know, as he was being ferried across the moonlit waters of the Charles, that his secret had become common Provincial property, but by the time the belfry clocks in Boston were clanging the midnight hour he must have become conscious that precious time was being lost. In proof of this we may turn to the diary of Lieutenant John Barker¹ of the King's Own Regiment, a witness who has been too carelessly examined. He places the King's Troops ashore as early as eleven o'clock, the hour that Paul Revere left Charlestown on his ride to Lexington, and says, moreover, that wet and chilly with wading from the boats, they were held there inactive for three long hours awaiting the arrival of provisions which "the Men threw away having carried some with 'em."² Now Barker was a young subaltern of a certain well known British type, critical of his superiors, an implacable growler, and in the plenitude of his inexperience full of ideas for putting things to rights. For all that he is a fine fellow and an invaluable witness, and despite the darkness and his fretful state of mind, I take this opportunity of presenting him to you as we shall be much in his company during the progress of this paper. He is our principal authority on British military activities in Concord and although he lacks the exactness of Mackenzie of the Fusileers³ and is somewhat unreliable

¹ See the Diary of a British soldier in Boston, contributed to the *Atlantic Monthly* in April, 1877, by Richard H. Dana, who describes the history of the manuscript and how it came into his hands. The identity of the writer was not then clear beyond the fact that he was a subaltern in the 4th or King's Own Regiment. By the elimination of all the regimental officers mentioned in the diary Mr. Dana reached the conclusion that the writer was either Lieut. David Hamilton or Lieut. Francis Peregrine Thorne. Since that time Barker's authorship has been firmly established. See statement of the Rev. E. G. Porter in *Mass. Col. Society Transactions*, v. 49.

² Barker's assertion naturally suggests the query, why, if the soldiers had taken provisions with them, were they buying food in Concord so early in the forenoon as alleged in American accounts. De Berniere says (2 *Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections*, iv. 215) that the troops "landed and received a day's provisions," but he makes no mention of such supplies being regarded as superfluous or of their being thrown away.

³ Lieut. Frederick Mackenzie of the 23rd Regiment, better known as the Royal Welch Fusileers, was promoted to a captaincy in that corps in November, 1775. He was delegated for important duties in the Boston garrison and ultimately rose to high rank in the army. His narrative of his ex-

in the matter of statistics, he is nevertheless a keen and helpful observer. He may have left his watch at his quarters or perhaps he could not read its face by moonlight; otherwise he would hardly have asserted that the march did not begin until two o'clock and that the long halt he bemoans consumed three hours of time. The column must have been on the move by one o'clock to have reached Lexington when it did, but a delay of two hours was quite enough to justify Barker's comments. The fact that neither Smith nor Gage cared to embalm that useless dawdling on the Cambridge flats in their official reports does not militate against the general accuracy of Barker's indictment. He lays the day's failure to this delay.

It is possible that any high hopes entertained by Smith had been dampened before the march began. Even at that early hour there may have been scattered alarm guns to convince him that treason was awake. However that may be, he knew that his last chance for credit melted into thin air with that cloud of powder smoke that drifted across Lexington Common in the early dawn. He was not present at the first shedding of blood, but the fatal deed was the work of men serving under his command. Some of the muddled old gentlemen, survivors of the Lexington slaughter, whom the town brought forward as witnesses in its case against Concord in 1825, did testify to seeing Smith on the Common fifty years before, but they confused him with Pitcairn and no one thought it worth his while to refresh their memories or correct their testimony. There is no other contemporaneous American evidence bearing upon Smith's activities aside from what is to be found in the prints engraved and issued by Doolittle at New Haven in the fall of 1775. In the second plate entitled, "The Town of Concord," Smith is depicted as standing with Pitcairn on the burial hill above that place, looking through his glass in the direction of the North Bridge. There is in these figures so little suggestive of the human form divine that our first feel-

periences with Percy's Brigade on the 19th of April is a singularly clear and valuable contribution to the history of the day. He was evidently an officer of force and precision and as stated in a previous note, he seems to have had a respect for and a mastery of statistics and detail.

ing is that Doolittle was attempting a gross political caricature. With a broader knowledge of his work, comes the conviction that as a representation of the human visage and anatomy this print approximates his highest level of excellence. In the fourth plate of Doolittle's, labelled "The East Part of Lexington," we may, with the aid of the key, find Smith again, this time on horseback in conference with Lord Percy. As the Colonel had been wounded a half hour before this meeting could have taken place, we must assume that his conference with the young Northumbrian Brigadier did not occur in the manner depicted in the plate.

British sources are almost equally barren of allusions to Smith, but Barker comes to our rescue in Concord flashing him upon the screen for a moment in the following words: "Capt'n Laurie" . . . (who was threatened by a superior force at the North Bridge) "sent to Coll Smith begging he would send more Troops to his Assistance and informing him of his situation; the Coll order'd 2 or 3 Compys. but put himself at their head, by which means stopt 'em from being time enough, for being a very fat heavy Man he wou'd not have reached the Bridge in half an hour, tho' it was not half a mile to it." This allusion savors of disrespect and is characteristic of Barker, who although disapproving Laurie's management at the North Bridge, yet attributes the loss of the position mainly to Smith's deficiencies as a pedestrian.

We have noted that Smith was wounded near Lexington a half hour before the arrival of Percy's brigade. Ensign De Berniere of the 10th Regiment records the event in a word but he does not treat it as a matter of importance.¹ We do not learn from him or from anyone else how the stricken commander got back to Boston, whether he continued to ride his horse as indicated in Doolittle's print, or whether he was conveyed thither in a chaise or upon a litter. Gage informs us in his official report that both Smith and Pitcairn "did everything that men could do," and that brief mention completes the sum of all that we can learn of Smith. Surely no soldier ever contributed a more difficult or more

¹ 2 Mass. Hist. Soc. *Collections*, IV. 217.

conscientious day's work to the service of his King. He does not appear to have been guilty of serious blunders or neglect. Perhaps he hardly rose to the situation at Concord, but he made an early request to Gage for reinforcements, an action that not only showed alertness and good judgment but prevented a real disaster. From the pain and seclusion of his sick room in Boston he penned his report to Gage, and it is exceptional in British evidence as betraying humiliation and chagrin.¹ It is remembered now for its querulous complaint, "they did not make one gallant attempt during so long an action." Poor Colonel Smith, to have done everything that a man could do and to live in history by virtue of one petulant phrase!

As for Bernard, the second of the trio, Lieutenant Colonel of the most distinguished regiment in the Boston garrison, he is hardly mentioned in the annals of the day. Gage is silent as to his services but we must assume that he was in immediate command of the Grenadiers. We find his name in the official list of the wounded, for he was hit during the afternoon fighting in Menotomy, but no officer of the detachment remembered to mention it in the letters and diaries that have come down to us. In the *Essex Gazette* of May 12, 1775, is printed an intercepted letter of a common soldier of the Fusileers. He mentions the wounding of Bernard and adds the simple comment, "which all the regiment is sorry for."² This is a touching tribute but not suggestive of fame. Let us hope that the gallant colonel's wound was as slight as his service was inconspicuous.

No one will deny that Pitcairn won for himself a place in the historical sun but it was not a place that either Smith or Bernard would have coveted. The limelight of tradition and error still plays fiercely upon him, and he stands forth in the minds of men as one of the conspicuous figures of the day. What American school boy for generations past has not beheld him as flesh and blood, quivering with cruel rage as he urged on his men to the slaughter of the unoffending? What speech of the time, whether uttered by Samuel Adams,

¹ 1 Mass. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, XIV. 350.

² Force, 4th Series II. 440.

Patrick Henry, or another, is better known than that assigned to Pitcairn as the prologue of a great war? "Disperse, ye rebels, ye villains! Damn you, why don't you lay down your arms and disperse!" Captain Parker seems a wraith-like personage; even Paul Revere, the beneficiary of Mr. Longfellow's poetical license, leaves no more vivid impression upon the mind than the Scots major on horseback calling for innocent blood. That Pitcairn was not a man of blood, that he gave no order to fire at Lexington, need not concern us now. As he brooded over his part in ushering in the fateful day, the defence we should offer in his behalf would have brought him small comfort. He had lost control of his men and his professional reputation was dearer to him than the verdict of the future historians of America.

Pitcairn is not a conspicuous figure in the subsequent events of the day. We may see him in Concord through the medium of the Doolittle print we have mentioned, but we do not find him at either of the bridges or at Colonel Barrett's where the Light Infantry were employed. It is evident that he was detained in the village for work in which he had proved himself an adept, the placating of angry citizens and persuading them to submit peacefully to the military necessities of the hour. We learn from Smith that while in the discharge of these duties the Major was assaulted by one irate Provincial. His whereabouts are further revealed in that preposterous petition of Martha Moulton¹ to the Province praying for financial compensation for her services in persuading British officers to extinguish the fire that had caught upon the roof of the Concord Court House. She mentions Pitcairn as among the listless red-coats to whom she made her appeal. It is probable that the Major acted the part of a kindly arbiter on more than one doubtful question of fact, but I fear that he was no match for the zealous villagers, whose capacity for bold and ingenious prevarication was quite beyond his understanding. He is not mentioned in the evidence that pertains to the return march to Lexington. We know that he lost his horse. Some American accounts have it that he was wounded and fell from his saddle. That is of course an error. He may

¹ See appendix to Frothingham's *Siege of Boston*.

have abandoned his mount as a measure of safety but the more probable theory is that the animal reared at a close discharge of musketry and threw the Major to the ground. Though neglected by history at this juncture, Pitcairn has been given a place in historical fiction. It is to James Fenimore Cooper and the pages of *Lionel Lincoln* that we must turn if we would find him on the Concord-Lexington road. Cooper gives us a vivid picture of the scene and places the Major where he doubtless belongs, with the advance and in command of the Light Infantry. Even Cooper deserts him at Lexington, and we can only surmise and hope that on the march to Charlestown Common he took over the command of the men he loved, and shared the fortunes of that devoted Marine battalion that sustained more than twenty-five per cent of the total British casualties for the day.

Contrary to general belief, the 19th of April seems to have been a cold windy day, with a bright sun. We learn as much from the diary of the Rev. William Marrett¹ and his words receive a measure of confirmation from Parson Gordon's statement that on the return march to Boston the troops were annoyed by the smoke blowing back upon them. Evidently the wind was east and from the comments of the two clergymen it is possible to imagine a typical early spring day on the New England coast, when the sea breeze comes in to break an unusually warm spell for that early season. Vegetation was certainly far advanced, trees were leafing out and probably Marrett's use of the word cold should be interpreted with reference to the unseasonable warmth of the days preceding. The idea of heat which tradition assigns to the day is doubtless due to the fact that a very considerable part of the able-bodied citizenry of eastern Massachusetts was at that time engaged in vigorous and unwonted exercise.

As I have said, Lieutenant Barker is our best British authority for what happened at Concord and on the road between that place and Lexington. The narrative of the Rev. Jonas Clark² has it that after dispersing Capt. Parker's

¹ See extract from Marrett's diary in Samuel Dunster's *Henry Dunster and his Descendants*, 84, and Jeremy Belknap's MS. entry for the day in his almanac was "fair cool wind."

² Appendix to his anniversary sermon preached at Lexington in 1776.

company the troops fired a volley and cheered in token of victory. Barker does not confirm that allegation but his narrative is no more creditable for his side; "we then formed on the Common," he says, "but with some difficulty, the Men were so wild they cou'd hear no orders; we waited a considerable time there, and at length proceeded on our way to Concord, which we then learnt was our destination." This march was uneventful but American tradition furnishes a wealth of interesting and picturesque material as to the thoughts and doings of the country folk who lived along that quiet stretch of road. The sun was up and all need of military secrecy was now dispelled. Many regarded the sudden appearance of the soldiery in such force as a menace and watched their march with dismay or rage but there were others who gazed upon the sight as merely a fleeting pageant. The long scarlet line threading its way among the wind-tossed greenery, the play of light and shade upon polished gun barrels and military adornments stirred the admiration of many sturdy revolutionists who were to do manful work for the cause before that day was done. "We met with no interruption," says Barker, "till within a mile or two of the Town, where the Country People had occupied a hill which commanded the road; the Light Infantry were order'd away to the right and ascended the height in one line, upon which the Yankees quitted it without firing, which they did likewise for one or two more successively. They then crossed the River beyond the Town." This statement is in entire accord with what the Provincials have to say of their own movements from the time they first sighted the British until they passed over the North Bridge and took position on Punkatasset Hill. Shattuck estimates the number of armed Provincials at that time as about 100 men from Concord and Lincoln; other authorities place it higher. The student is impressed with the contrast between the way the military problem was handled here as compared with the way it had been handled in Lexington a few hours before. We are told that the Rev. Mr. Emerson was early with his parishioners in arms and that when the British van flashed glittering upon his sight he appealed to his people to stand their ground; "if we die let us die here." Eleazer

Brooks of Lincoln disapproved the counsel of the ardent young clergyman, pointed out the folly of contending against such odds and urged that it would not do for them to begin the war. His common sense prevailed and the handful of militia and minute men retreated slowly, avoiding dangerous contact with their enemy, until they stood upon the hill beyond the river where reinforcements were fast gathering. The Grenadiers followed the main road and as they entered the village their step was timed to the music of their fifes and drums. The bandsmen of the Light Infantry on the hill responded in kind and then there floated back from the group of retreating Provincials the faint strains of their own music, less resonant and full bodied than the British but as brave and defiant as any that ever was played.¹

Smith's first orders in Concord were to secure the North and South Bridges, so called. Captain Pole repaired to the South Bridge with a force of Light Infantry and then for affairs at the other place we may listen for a moment to Barker. "The Light Companies were detached beyond the River to examine some Houses for more stores; 1 of these Compys. was left at the Bridge, another on a Hill some distance from it, and another on a hill $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile from that; the other 3 went forward 2 or 3 miles to seek for some Cannon which had been there but had been taken away that morning. During this time the People were gathering together in great numbers, and taking advantage of our scatter'd disposition, seemed as if they were going to cut off the communication with the Bridge, upon which the two Companies joined and went to the Bridge to support that Company. The three Compys. drew up in the road the far side of the Bridge and the Rebels on the Hill above, cover'd by a Wall; in that situation they remained a long time, very near an hour the three Companies expecting to be attacked by the Rebels, who were about 1000 strong."

This recital of Barker's brings us up to about half past nine, more than two hours having elapsed since the troops

¹ "We marched before them with our drums and fifes going and also the British drums and fifes. We had grand music." Capt. Amos Barrett's statement written April 19, 1775. See *Journal and Letters of Rev. Henry True*, Marion, Ohio, 1900.

entered Concord village. It was then that Laurie, the senior officer at the bridge, sent to Smith for reinforcements and the portly Colonel responded in person with the Grenadiers as derisively described by Barker. The British dispositions at the time were, then, briefly as follows; three companies of Light Infantry under Captain Laurie were at the North Bridge, three more companies under Captain Parsons were at Colonel Barrett's house, two miles beyond, the rest of the Light Infantry were with Captain Pole in the vicinity of the South Bridge. Colonel Smith with two or three companies of Grenadiers was on his way to reinforce Laurie and the rest of that corps were in the village searching for and destroying military stores. Plainly the danger point was at the North Bridge above which was concentrated the entire armed strength of Concord and the neighboring towns, a strength that constituted not only a real danger to the detachment at Colonel Barrett's but a menace to the small force with which Laurie held the bridge. Barker says that Laurie was fearful of being attacked and yet as we shall see in a moment he made no preparation for such a contingency. The Provincial numbers now amounted to about 450 men. They had come down from Punkatasset Hill and were now concentrated on the open land west of Major Buttrick's house. They had become disturbed by the smoke rising from bonfires in the village, which gave the impression that the British were firing the place. Adjutant Hosmer is alleged to have propounded the question, "will you let them burn the town down?" A council of war followed whereat, in the words of Ripley, they solemnly resolved "to march into the middle of the town for its defence, or die in the attempt." Ripley further informs us that "they acted upon principle, and in the fear of God." And so Laurie's apprehensions were realized. The fateful advance began, the 450 men of Barrett's command fell into line and marched two and two down the road to the bridge where Laurie's 100 troopers stood at their ease. The Acton men were in front, a fact that has troubled our local history ever since.¹ Major But-

¹ For a discussion of this question from the Acton point of view see Josiah Adams' address delivered at the "first centennial anniversary of the organization of that town," published Boston, 1835.

trick, Colonel Robinson of Westford and Captain Davis marched at the head of the column. The British hastily retired across the bridge and began to remove the planks. They were ordered to desist by Buttrick. One gun, followed by two or three others was fired by the red coats perhaps as a warning, the bullets splashing in the river. Then came a volley from a score of muskets, the Acton fifer was wounded and Davis and Abner Hosmer were killed. Buttrick gave the command to fire, which was obeyed with deadly effect, and the troops retreated from the bridge. Such, in brief, is the American narrative.¹ The affair occurred probably between half past nine and ten o'clock and was over in a few moments.² Here is how it appeared to Barker as he stood with his company at the bridge: "the Rebels marched into the Road and were coming down upon us, when Capn. L — e made his Men retire to this side of the Bridge (which by the bye he ought to have done at first, and then he wou'd have had time to make a good disposition, but at this time he had not, for the Rebels were got so near him that his people were obliged to form the best way they cou'd;) as soon as they were over the Bridge the three companies got one behind the other so that only the front one cou'd fire; the Rebels when they got near the Bridge halted and fronted, filling the road from the top to the bottom. The fire soon began from a dropping shot on our side when they and the front Compy. fired almost at the same instant, there being nobody to support the front Compy. The others not firing the whole were forced to quit the Bridge and return toward Concord; some of the Grenadiers met 'em in the road and then advanced to meet the Rebels, who had got this side the Bridge and on a good height, but seeing the

¹ Acton contended in 1835 (see Josiah Adams' address) that the British fired twice and that Blanchard, the Acton fifer, was wounded at the first discharge which occasioned the American volley. The British then delivered a return fire killing Davis and Hosmer. Supported by statements in the depositions of Thomas Thorp and Solomon Smith made in 1835 (see appendix to Adams' address) and assisted by discrepancies in the Concord evidence of 1775, Adams made an ingenious if not a convincing argument, his aim being to prove that no American guns were fired after Davis fell. Barker's statement makes it clear that only the British front company fired and that they could have fired but once.

² Record book of Captain David T. Brown. See extracts printed in footnote to page 32 of Josiah Adams' address.

manoeuvre they thought proper to retire again over the Bridge; the whole then went into Concord, drew up in the Town, and waited for the 3 Companies that were gone on, which arrived in about an hour; 4 officers of 8 who were at the Bridge were wounded; 3 Men killed; 1 Sergt. and several men wounded.”¹

You will notice how completely Barker's brief narrative supplements and confirms the American accounts. He admits that the British fired the first shot. He does not explain why the fire of the front company was so ineffective, being delivered at close range, and the only explanation seems to be that there was mercy in the soldiers' hearts. Barker's comments on Laurie's defective alignment make it reasonably clear why the musketry of the Provincials wrought such damage. It is evident that the soldiers

¹ Gage says in his *Circumstantial Account* that the Provincial fire “killed three Men, wounded four Officers, one Serjeant, and four private Men.” The officers wounded at the North Bridge were four lieutenants, Gould of the 4th Regiment, Kelley of the 10th, Sutherland of the 38th, and Hull of the 43rd. Gould was struck in the foot and Kelley in the hand while Sutherland escaped with a scratch. Hull's wound was more serious and it is probably of him that the Rev. Mr. Wheeler wrote to Ezra Stiles, “an officer walked a little ways and gave out, upon which they carried him into Town: he asked the Surgeon whether his wound was mortal? Yes: is there a Clergyman near? No.” (Stiles' *Diary*, 1. 551-2.) A chaise was impressed for his use but he was wounded again in Menotomy, where he was left a prisoner perhaps at his own request. He was kindly cared for at Samuel Butterfield's house where he was visited by the Rev. Dr. McClure, who found him lying in bed garbed in a great coat, a fur hat on his head. “When I fell,” explained Hull, “our own people stripped me of my coat, vest, and shirt and your people of my shoes and buckles.” This has been construed as meaning that he was robbed by his own men; while the proper inference would seem to be that he had been stripped by the military surgeons. He died on May 2nd and his remains were delivered at the British lines with full military honors. A pathetic account of his last days is given by Dr. McClure. (1 Mass. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, xvi. 157.)

Lieut. Gould started to drive a chaise to Boston and left ahead of the column. He met the first Brigade on the road beyond Lexington and later surrendered to a party of Provincials in Menotomy. American estimates are in disagreement with Barker, Gage and nearly all the British authorities, who assert that three British soldiers were killed in the skirmish. Shattuck in 1835 claimed three as the British loss, and on another page of his narrative we find this probable explanation, “one of the wounded died and was buried where Mr. Keyes' house stands.” Shattuck did not give his authority and was ridiculed by Adams in his address. It is reasonably clear that while the British left but two men at the bridge, a third died of his wounds as he was being carried to the village.

crowded into a solid block, presented a narrow front, and deep flanks that were exposed to Provincial riflemen when "they fronted" all along the curving road. Strangely enough the critical Barker has nothing to say about Smith's apparent desertion of Capt. Parsons. When Smith returned to the village he appears to have abandoned that detachment to its fate. That it came back unscathed was not due to any effort on his part, although it is possible that he counted and counted rightly upon the demoralization in the Provincial ranks.¹

Our subject is the British in Concord, but before we turn our backs upon the old North Bridge perhaps it is permissible to say a few words about our own people, whose rebellious activities were responsible for the presence of the soldiers in the town. In the first place we are impressed with the prudence as well as with the courage of the Provincial leaders. To refuse combat in the morning when they believed the numerical superiority of the troops to be as 8 to 1 was an act of simple common sense; to attack the detachment at the bridge when the odds were nearly 5 to 1 in their own favor cannot be criticised upon military grounds. The controversy between Acton and Concord, which broke out sixty years after the fight, is now almost a forgotten chapter, but it has introduced a controversial quality into American accounts of the affair, disputes that in no way involve the British. While the Concord historians paid high tribute to the merits of Captain Davis, they fell short of the Acton claim that he was the only forceful spirit at the bridge, that he not only heartened but guided the councils of his superiors and that when he fell, Barrett's whole command disintegrated from the lack of dominating leadership. It must, of course, be admitted that the Provincial cohesion and aggressiveness did disappear with the first exchange of shot. Most of the men who crossed the bridge in pursuit of the troops did as Barker says, re-cross the river upon the appearance of Smith with the Grenadiers.² Acton advocates

¹ De Berniere, who was with Parsons, says, "they had taken up some of the planks of the bridge, but we got over; had they destroyed it we were most certainly all lost." He evidently counted upon no assistance from Smith.

² Shattuck says (page 112) that about 150 men instead of recrossing the

would fain have known what became of that heroic resolve "to march into the middle of the town for its defence or die in the attempt," a resolve subscribed to by men acting "upon principle and in the fear of God." Under this fire of criticism the Concordians of nearly one hundred years ago conducted themselves with a patient restraint worthy of their forbears in 1775. Ripley and Shattuck had directed their shafts at Lexington, with a somewhat irritating smugness, be it said, but were guiltless of any intentional slight upon Acton, whose armed representatives had acquitted themselves with conspicuous valor at the bridge and had sustained all the casualties inflicted by the British at that place. Under great provocation the Concord people of Shattuck's day were slow to anger, they refrained from employing the much misused affidavit, they did not protest too much. They could not account for the presence of the Acton company in the van, for that problem has always been as insoluble as it was unimportant, but they stood on the broad ground that their companies were exposed to British bullets and that Major Buttrick marched at the head of the column. That Davis, had he lived, could have held the Provincials together is a statement that cannot be proved, as is that other assertion that he would have stood by the solemn resolve to fight his way into Concord village. This theory seems to ignore the fact that Davis bore the reputation of being a wise as well as well as a courageous man. I have wondered whether Ripley may not have innocently distorted some characteris-

bridge made their way across "the Great Field" to Merriam's Corner, but does not give his authority. Amos Barrett, giving his recollections in 1825, states, "we soon drove them from the bridge," but adds, "we did not follow them." Despite this surprising statement he goes on to say that "We then saw the whole body of the British coming out of town" and that with some 200 other Provincials he lay behind a wall with his musket trained upon Smith's Grenadiers awaiting the command from Buttrick to fire. The British he says "staid about 10 minutes and then marched back and we after them." This statement of Barrett's is out of harmony with every other witness. It is possible that the 200 men mentioned by Barrett may be identical with Shattuck's 150, and that while they did not follow the British on the road, they kept abreast by crossing "the Great Field" to Merriam's Corner. Josiah Adams ridicules Shattuck's claim and cites the deposition of Thorp, "in a short time we returned over the bridge but did not form in any order," and that of Smith, "after a short time we dispersed, and, without regularity went back over the bridge."

tics of the council of war upon the hill and whether the spirit that gave birth to the resolve may not have been more impulsive than solemn and deliberate in character.¹ At all events, no one was bound by oath to do a foolish thing. The melting away of Barrett's force after the firing should have occasioned neither surprise nor criticism. These men were not trained soldiers, their military association was of the loosest and most elastic sort, they were merely stout yeomen embattled for the moment. The first reaction from the excitement of battle was doubtless one of misgiving not unmixed with fear. They had taken a bold step; in premeditated and orderly fashion they had shed the blood of the soldiers of the King. Whether they should be known hereafter as patriots or as traitors, whether they should be crowned with laurel or hanged by the neck until they were dead, depended upon the sequel of what they had dared to do. Their fate in life and their status in history they had already consigned to the lap of the gods.

Mention should be made here of the third print in Doolittle's series which gives us the aspect of the battle-ground as it was in 1775,² the North Bridge, the river bank, the hillside sloping up to the muster ground, and the houses on the ridge. From that same slope today, green acres that are still in the possession of Major Buttrick's descendants, you may

¹ There was one impulsive man in the Provincial council, if we can accept the tradition that was first given broadcast to the world by Frederic Hudson in an article on the Concord fight published in *Harper's Magazine* in April, 1875. Captain Timothy Brown lived hard by the North Bridge and his company of minute men was the first to appear in arms on the battle morning. It is alleged of him that just before the British fired their fatal volley at the bridge, a bullet whistling by his ear drew forth the unpremeditated and regrettable words, "God damn it, they are firing ball!" We are assured that this speech, so suggestive of Sergeant Cambronne's exploit at Waterloo, constituted the Captain's first and only venture within the realm of profanity. Perhaps this legend will not stand the test of modern scientific historical examination and yet, while no advocate of swearing, I hope that its truth cannot be disproved. To me Brown's presence lends a touch of reality to that brave muster on the hill, he is a living, breathing personality, strongly drawn upon the stormy canvas of the day. We may all conjecture as to where he could have heard such language as is ascribed to him, but this much can be said in his defence, that few chronic swearers of oaths could have surpassed what he achieved on his first attempt.

² The title of this print is "The Engagement at the North Bridge in Concord."

look down upon a scene that in nearly 150 years has undergone no essential change, that appears much as it did on that April morning of long ago when the Acton men came tramping out of "the back road" to the tune of "the White Cockade." The sluggish river glides lazily beneath the replica of the old North Bridge, wildwood still fringes the banks, and its drooping foliage is reflected in the mirror of the quiet stream. The ruthless energy of man has achieved nothing to affront the eye of one who stands upon this historic ground and who would in imagination, travel back over the long road to yesterday. Silence and peace brood over the place, save when the motor bus from the city with its inquisitive and chattering freight comes clanking and hooting up to the river's edge. Then indeed is the Old Manse roused from its dreaming by the din of infernal machinery and the Babel of many tongues.

While the embattled farmers were discharging their military duties at the North Bridge, a bloodless battle of wits was waging in Concord Village and in other sections of the town. We have only American evidence as to this contest and it is from our own chroniclers that we learn that the general conduct of the soldiery in the discharge of their unpleasant duty was almost above reproach.¹ It is true that

¹ The story of Pitcairn's savage speech as he stirred his whiskey with a bloody finger, has, I believe, been relegated to the realm of myths. Mr. Hudson, prone as he was to revere the whole body of American tradition, publicly abandoned this more than thirty years ago. (1 Mass. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, xvii. 322.) The story was a long time a-dying and has recently been revived eliminating Pitcairn and substituting "an officer" in his place. (*The Beginnings of the American Revolution*, by Ellen Chase, iii. 53.) I am not aware of evidence that supports the legend in any form. The allegation of both Ripley and Shattuck that the British set fire to the Concord Court House is not only utterly out of harmony with the probabilities, but it is not proved by the evidence usually cited in its support. Martha Moulton deposes, "When all on a sudden, they the British had set fire to the great gun carriages just by the house, and while they were in flames your petitioner saw smoke arise out of the Town House higher than the ridge of the house." (Frothingham's *Siege*, 369.) Hannah Moulton, as we know, was seeking some modest part of the public funds for her success in persuading the British officers to have this fire extinguished, but the inference I should draw from her somewhat ambiguous statement is that the building caught from the burning gun carriages. This was Mr. Hudson's opinion in 1880 (1 Mass. Hist. Soc. *Proceedings*, xvii. 322). Had the reverse been true I fear that the excited entreaties of Martha Moulton would have been in vain. It is also alleged that old Samuel Buttrick

Ripley asserts that "while in the village the British seized and abused several persons, aged men who were not armed," but on the other hand he cites but one censurable incident. Deacon Thomas Barrett he characterizes as a man "noted for his piety and goodness and for his mildness of disposition," qualities, which if now of seeming rarity, were, we are assured, the common possession of the Patriot citizenry of the time. Yet this man was denounced as a traitor and his life threatened by the soldiers before he was suffered with jocose remarks to depart in peace. Inasmuch, however, as we know and must assume that the British knew that his son was conducting a gun factory upon the paternal premises, we must in all fairness admit that if anyone in Concord was to come under suspicion or was to suffer an affront, it is possible that Deacon Barrett had qualified for the distinction. At Concord the soldiers came into contact with women. What was their attitude toward them? Read the accounts of how Mrs. Barrett fared in her house where munitions of war were hidden in the attic under piles of feathers and see if you can detect any act on the part of the minions of the King that was unworthy of officers or of gentlemen. In a certain room of the Jones Tavern, Henry Gardner, the Province Treasurer, had concealed "a chest containing some money and other important articles." As the soldiers were preparing to enter the room a certain Hannah Barns appeared with the assertion "that it was her apartment and contained her property." She was politely questioned, the soldiers passed on, and Gardner's chest was saved. In the house of Amos Wood there was a locked door which led into an apartment piled high with Provincial property, but when Captain Pole was informed that frightened women of the household had taken refuge there he forbade any one to enter and went his way. Moreover, we have it on Shattuck's authority that on quitting the house the officers left "a guinea apiece to each of the female attendants to compensate them for their trouble."

was crippled for life by a blow from a soldier's musket, and that after the soldiers left Colonel Barrett's, fifty dollars was missing from a bureau drawer. I have not investigated these charges, but while they are not cited by Ripley and Shattuck, such isolated incidents might well have occurred. If Samuel Buttrick served at the North Bridge with his kinsman the Major, as asserted in Concord Guide Books, he certainly ran some risks.

Nor was it necessary to wear the petticoat to fool a soldier. You remember how Timothy Wheeler by his "shrewd and successful address," saved the Provincial flour. He admitted the soldiers to his storehouse where he had placed bags of his own grain alongside the Provincial store. "I am a miller," he declared, putting his hand upon his own bags, "and every gill of this is mine." The officer in charge withdrew his men with the remark, "Well, we do not injure private property."¹ Surely what Shattuck calls "the innocent artifice of individuals" had its reward and the victories of peace were quite as effective as those of war in bringing the King's cause to grief at Concord. The British soldier had come out hating the people, he had shed blood at Lexington, but at Concord he not only, under discipline, conducted himself with humanity and consideration, but was there hoodwinked and fooled to the top of his bent. We may well query whether Federal tax inspectors or enforcers of the Volstead Act operating in the old Middlesex town in this year of Grace would prove as gullible and as amenable to the spoken word, as were the armed forces of the King in 1775.

There was one tragic incident in Concord that must be mentioned here as it has long been avoided or misrepresented by American writers who, it seems to me, either failed to comprehend its importance in the battle story or cherished a distorted notion that its recital would constitute a blot upon a heroic cause. When Captain Parsons' detachment reached the North Bridge on its return from Colonel Barrett's, the soldiers were shocked to find a comrade of Laurie's command lying in the road, with his head horribly mutilated, or in the words of Gage in his *Circumstantial Account*, "scalped, his Head much mangled, and his Ears cut off, tho' not quite dead." The culprit guilty of this brutal act of assaulting a wounded Briton, appears to have been what President Langdon would have characterized as of "weak mental powers." He was known to Mr. Emerson, and that reverend gentleman in great perturbation whispered the facts of the case to Gordon, the historian. Gordon committed his information to print in the following words: "a young fellow

¹ Holmes, *Annals*, II. 326.

coming over the bridge in order to join the country people, and seeing the soldier wounded and attempting to get up, not being under the feelings of humanity, very barbarously broke his skull and let out his brains with a small axe (apprehend of the tomahawk kind,) but as to his being scalped and having his ears cut off, there was nothing in it. The poor object languished for an hour or two before he expired.”¹ It was a cruel and unprovoked atrocity which all Concord understood and deplored sincerely, but which the Provincial authorities at Watertown hesitated to confess. The use of the word “scalped,” in the British reports afforded these men the opportunity to deceive by asserting a technical truth, a temptation that was too strong to be resisted. So Zecariah Brown and Thomas Davis were brought forward and on May 11, 1775, they made oath to the fact that they “buried the dead bodies of the King’s troops that were killed at the North Bridge in Concord and that neither of those persons were scalped nor had their ears cut off, as has been represented.”²

The Reverend Ezra Ripley was most solicitous that this cat should be kept in the bag, and in his history he leaves us to infer that both of the British victims at the bridge met instantaneous death by gunfire. In 1835, Shattuck also thought it best to conceal the facts. Fortunately or unfortunately as we have already noted, there was that in Shattuck’s narrative of the fight which offended the susceptibilities of the good people of Acton, who at once began to collect from their aged townsmen who had served at the North Bridge sixty years before the affidavits so characteristic of the period. In the testimony of Thomas Thorp, Solomon Smith and Charles Handley the long smothered facts of the Concord atrocity were once more brought joyously to light.³

¹ Force, 4th Series, II. 621.

² Deposition of Zecariah Brown and Thomas Davis, Jr., Concord, May 11, 1775.

³ “Two of the enemy were killed—one with a hatchet, after being wounded and helpless. This act was a matter of horror to us all. I saw him sitting up and wounded, as we had passed the bridge.” Thomas Thorp’s deposition, July 10, 1835. “Two of the British were killed there. One of them was left on the ground wounded, and in that situation, was killed by an American with a hatchet. This act met with universal disapprobation, and was excused only by the excitement and inexperience of the

Josiah Adams, a native of Acton, took up the prevailing quarrel and in a tract published in 1835 he ruthlessly arraigns Shattuck for his dishonest evasion of the episode. It is not now clear to us how the irresponsible act of a passer-by could ever have been construed as reflecting upon the fair fame of Concord, but her traducers were not in a judicial frame of mind and doubtless Shattuck was more the object of their animosity than the town in which he lived and of which he wrote. Acton's wrath had this result, that it restored to history the murder of the soldier. Nathaniel Hawthorne moved into the Old Manse in 1842 and in his essay of that name he describes how standing by the rude stone that marked the soldier's grave he heard the story of the tragedy from the lips of "Lowell the poet." It was told as tradition but it appealed to Hawthorne's imagination and he was fearful that it might not be true. "I could wish," he says, "that the grave might be opened; for I would fain know whether either of the skeleton soldiers has the mark of an axe in his skull. The story comes home to me like truth. Oftentimes, as an intellectual and moral exercise, I have sought to follow that poor youth through his subsequent career and observe how his soul was tortured by the blood stain, contracted as it had been before the long custom of war had robbed human life of its sanctity and while it still seemed murderous to slay a brother man. This one circumstance has borne more fruit for me than all that history tells us of the fight." Lossing mentioned the episode in 1850 in a few brief but honest words, and Frothingham made a briefer but equally honest statement in his *History of the Siege*. In 1858 Bancroft approached the subject with reluctance and in the spirit of an apologist. Here is his contribution, surely a model of brevity and discretion, "one wounded soldier, attempting to rise as if to escape, was struck on the head by a young man with a hatchet." We learn nothing from him of the effect of the blow, whether

perpetrator." Solomon Smith's deposition, July 10, 1835. "I heard at the time, and many times since, that one of the two British, who were killed at the bridge, was killed with a hatchet, after he was left wounded. The young man who killed him, told me in 1807, that it had worried him very much; but that he thought he was doing right, at the time." Charles Handley's deposition, December 1, 1835.

the soldier lived or died, whether his head was mutilated by the blade or whether he was subdued by the flat of the axe. Bancroft was the first to palliate the young man's attack, and he leaves us to infer that the assailant was engaged in a laudable effort to prevent the escape of a prisoner. In 1875, the Rev. Grindall Reynolds carried on in Bancroft's mood while rejecting his theory. He admitted that the soldier was cloven through the skull, but asserted that it was the deed of a lad at whom "he made a thrust with his bayonet."¹ Five years later Mr. Hudson gave us an honest epitome of Gordon's original narrative, but concluded with the statement that the assailant struck his wounded victim "several blows upon his head, and thus ended his sufferings." Perhaps I am wrong, it is at best a mere splitting of hairs, but in that concluding phrase of Hudson's, I think I recognize an almost pathetic attempt on his part to convince himself that possibly the young man had recourse to his hatchet from an impelling desire to put a suffering fellow creature out of misery. The real trouble with Hudson's statement is that there is nothing to show that the soldier's wound was mortal, and the British assertion that he was "not quite dead" when found, is confirmed by Gordon's admission that "the poor object languished for an hour or two before he expired." These evasions and theories of our nineteenth century writers are submitted for their psychological rather than for their historical interest. We may rest assured that the Rev. Mr. Emerson knew the facts and, had there been extenuating circumstances of the sort I have quoted, he would have communicated them to Gordon in 1775.

The importance of this regrettable episode lies in the influence it exerted upon the British morale on the 19th of April, and, through not unnatural distortions and exaggerations upon public opinion in England. How could it have been otherwise? The one hundred witnesses of Parsons' command were soon mingling with their comrades in the village and the gruesome tale was passed from mouth to mouth in all sorts of exaggerated forms. You read of it in the reports of Smith and Percy, in Gage's letter to Trumbull,

¹ See Reynold's tract on Concord fight published Boston, 1875. His theory was based on a statement made by Chaplain Thaxter in his old age.

in his official report to the War Office in London, and in the Parliamentary records. You find it, too, in private letters of British officers and soldiers. We may regret that a frank statement of the facts was not forthcoming from the Provincial Congress. This would have cleared up the charges or robbed them of their sting; but for the British soldier in Concord no explanation was possible, and when about noon the orders rang out that put the column in motion on its return march to Boston the sickening conviction had spread throughout the ranks that the Americans "scalped" the wounded. With rage and horror in their hearts the Grenadiers and Light Infantry passed out of Concord into Lexington road. All along the high ground above, the Provincial minute men were gathering and they looked down in anger upon the ruthless hirelings of the Crown whose hands were stained with American blood that cried out for vengeance. As the British took up their march, the sort of resentment upon which brutality thrives was raging in the hearts of men upon both sides.

American annals teem with picturesque incidents that have to do with that happy hunting from Concord to Lexington and tablets placed along the old battle road commemorate many real and fancied episodes of the day. The American scheme of attack was of course a happening, and not the result of a prearranged plan. Its effectiveness may well have been a surprise to them as it was a matter of consternation to their enemy. No one can say how many of the armed men gathered in Concord entered upon the pursuit, but it is probable that after Merriam's Corner had been passed the numerical superiority was with the Provincials. Minute Men diverted from their march to Concord by the sound of firing closed in upon the Lexington road and secreted themselves in the underbrush and behind other favorable cover. Fresh companies were constantly arriving. As the men grew bolder they entered houses and fired from within and behind them. The British rear guard was much annoyed by the fire from buildings that during the passage of the column had appeared to be deserted. As the British approached the Lexington line they were opposed by more than twice their number. Here they encountered

anew the indomitable Lexington company and here Jedidiah Munroe, who had been wounded on the Common in the morning, met a soldier's death. Smith's flank guards whose early operations had been effective now began to fail from sheer exhaustion. The British commander had pinned his faith to the reinforcements for which he had appealed in the early morning hours and their non-appearance filled him with anxiety and dismay. British evidence makes it clear that the soldiers threw away their fire without judgment with no enemy in sight, and in the extraordinary conditions prevailing, the officers seem to have been powerless to prevent this waste. These soldiers were maddened by the galling fire they sustained from unseen enemies and the dread of "scalping" was always in their minds. Yet no charge of cruelty lies against them and we know that such of their wounded as fell into Provincial hands were treated with humanity and consideration. All angered as they were, these warring men of common British ancestry maintained a clean if bitter fight along that six miles of road. Smith, seeing no way of crippling his enemy, tried to speed up his march and prayed with lessening faith for the arrival of the long expected succor. He was wounded at a critical moment. The column was then approaching Lexington village. Its effective strength had been reduced by twenty-five per cent, panic and insubordination threatened, and the ammunition was nearly exhausted. The officers tell plain, straightforward stories in the diaries and letters that have been brought to light; they show no disposition to minimize the peril in which they stood. Hope of assistance had well-nigh vanished and the surrender or dispersal of the entire detachment seemed imminent.

Then, almost in the twinkling of an eye, the situation changed. The Provincial fire that had been growing closer and more deadly with every moment, suddenly waned, then almost ceased, and the Light Infantry passing hurriedly on by Lexington Common, found themselves looking into the promised land. It was no mirage or optical illusion that met their half doubting gaze, but uniformed flesh and blood drawn up in battle array. Above the steel fringed lines of infantry the standards of three famous British regiments

streamed out in the fresh breeze. A cloud of smoke billowed above the tree tops, and the roar of a six-pounder echoing and reverberating among the woods and hills, proclaimed that the Royal Artillery was in the field. What wonder that the weary, tortured soldiery broke into shouts and cheers as they first beheld Earl Percy and his men? After despondency and dread they tasted real exaltation that was akin to the joy of victory. The Provincials, robbed of their prey, experienced the disappointment and chagrin that is born of a sense of defeat. There was to be hard fighting for all these men of kindred blood before the setting of the sun, but with the first cannon shot the curtain falls upon what for the King's troops was the critical period of that April battle day.

FRANKLIN'S ACCOUNTS AGAINST MASSACHUSETTS.

Mr. FORD said:

If any proof of Franklin's greatness was needed, the lasting interest in his performance would suffice. To the bibliographer his work is a source of joy. With an almost perfect sense of form and fitness in his own productions, he was bountiful in aid and suggestion to others, and became responsible for a number of publications, not associated with his name.¹ In spite of the attention given to his printing and publishing activities new discoveries are continually made or new connections developed. I have found some items of Frankliniana hitherto unrecorded so far as I can learn, not without importance, as measuring his public service to Massachusetts.

In turning over the volumes of Massachusetts Archives, now in the keeping of Mr. John H. Edmonds as State archivist, I noticed a paper of which I took a memorandum, not having the time to examine it closely. Some two years passed before the memorandum reminded me of the matter, and then, through the courtesy of Mr. Edmonds having ob-

¹ An example is seen in his printing at Passy, *Conciliateur de toutes les Nations d'Europe*, 1782, an essay by Pierre André Gargaz, a galley-slave for twenty years. It has recently been reprinted by Mr. George Simpson Eddy of New York.

tained photostat reproductions, I was in a position to study the document and its accompanying papers at my leisure. I found that it was the account of expense submitted by Franklin as agent of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts-Bay for service rendered, and that it had been paid on Franklin's visit to the camp of the Continental army as member of a committee of the Continental Congress in 1775.¹ It covered the legal expenses in the proceedings arising out of the Hutchinson-Oliver letters, which formed so dramatic an incident in Franklin's career. The well-known story of the transmission by Franklin of the original letters to Massachusetts under an injunction of secrecy, of their publication contrary to that injunction, of the resulting duel between Whately and Temple, of Franklin's public assumption of responsibility, of the process brought against him by Whately and the savage and unseemly attack upon him by Wedderburn — all this is to be found in any life of Franklin. The details of the lawyer's bills add nothing except some precise dates; but they do indicate the manner of making up a lawyer's charge in that day, from the fees to the leading counsel and assistants to the presents given to servants or court officers. Fees, it must be remembered, are the forerunners of fixed salaries, and, though open to great abuses, were the ordinary mode of recognizing services in that day. The rebellion of the colonies put an end to all proceedings against Franklin, so the matter in question was never passed upon by the law officers of the crown. For that reason the manner in which Franklin obtained the Hutchinson letters has never come to light, and probably never will be disclosed.

Whately's suit in Chancery was brought in January, 1774, and about the last day of that month Life obtained a copy of the bill in which Whately set forth his charges against Franklin. It is summarized in the "Tract" (Smyth, vi. 286), and Franklin's answer upon oath is outlined in the same essay. The answer was prepared after consulting with Dunning, Lee, Jackson and Sayre; but in the light of experience Franklin asserted that he had "now learnt that in chancery, tho' the *Defendant* [himself] must swear to the

¹ The purpose and membership of the Committee are in *Journals* (Ford), III. 265, 266.

Truth of every Point in his Answer, the *Plaintiff* [Whately] is not put to his Oath, or obliged to have the least Regard to Truth in his Bill, but is allowed to lie as much as he pleases. I do not understand this, unless it be for the Encouragement of Business."¹ The explanation that Franklin gives for Whately's bringing such a vexatious suit against him, that he had acted by direction of others, and presumably of the King's ministers, is not convincing.²

From one item in these accounts we learn that on January 20, 1774, Franklin gave to Agent Life, 1, the petition to the King from the House of Representatives of Massachusetts-Bay, for the removal from office of Hutchinson and Oliver; 2, copies of the letters of Hutchinson and Oliver letters, "and his own Remarks on each particular Letter"; and 3, "his general observations on the whole." The "Remarks" on each letter have been lost, but I believe the "general observations on the whole" to be the basis of the "Tract relative to the Affair of Hutchinson's Letters," which was first printed in William T. Franklin's compilation of the *Works* in 1817, and is in Smyth, vi. 258. In that case the paper was prepared early in 1774, between January 11, when Wedderburn called for the letters, and the 20th, when the "observations" were given to Life, and probably was modified later, as it mentions Wedderburn's attack, which occurred on the 29th. The paper is known by a draft and transcript, both in the Franklin Papers in the Library of Congress.³

The letters of Barbeau-Dubourg give an opportunity to question a statement of Brunet on the translation into French of Franklin's writings on electricity. In the 1838 edition of his *Manuel du Libraire* he says that the translator was "M. l'Ecuy" and the same statement occurs in the

¹ *Writings* (Smyth), vi. 287.

² *Ib.*, 289. Hill, in his edition of Boswell (ii. 137) states that Franklin wrote of Whately's agency in Johnson's pension as of 1773, but it was more probable in 1774, after the chancery suit had been instituted.

³ Incidentally I am able to clear doubt from a name in this "Tract" of Franklin where he speaks of letters of "Rosne and Auchmuty" (Smyth, vi. 264). It should be Rome, and refers to a letter written from Narraganset, December 22, 1767, and signed George Rome. Wedderburn gave some attention to it in his attack on Franklin and it was printed as a broadside in 1774, and not in 1767, as stated in *Collections*, lxxv. 1423.

edition of 1861. Larouse attributes the translation to Jean Baptiste Lécuy (1740-1834), a native of Yvoi-Carignan (Ardennes), who was admitted into the order of the Prémontrés in 1759, and taught successively philosophy and theology, becoming the "prieur-secrétaire" in 1775. The Prémontrés, established in 1120 by St. Norbert, took their name from Prémontré, near Laon. Barbeau-Dubourg shows that Lesqui, a member of the order of Prémontrés, evidently a manner of writing Lécuy, began the translation, that Le Roy had some part, but that he himself took hold, because of the slow progress. The title reads, "traduites . . . Par M. Barbeau-Dubourg" and gives, as the residence of the author, "rue de la Bucherie, aux Ecoles de Medecine," a place described in one of the following letters. I doubt if it is correct to give Lécuy or Lesqui as the translator.

With the legal bills which were prepared by agent Thomas Life, are two other papers, neither of which seemed at first sight to possess any interest. One is a bill of C. Say, a printer in London, against a Mr. Massie, for printing a series of papers on the trade of Ireland with London, that of New England with London, and four "Letters to the Principal Landholders of England" — all broadsides or leaflets. The "Letters" were part of a series — Nos. 8 to 11 — and were issued in March and April, 1774, in editions of from one thousand to four thousand copies, intended for circulation in Great Britain. When it is considered that the charge for this printing was paid by the Province of Massachusetts-Bay curiosity is excited on the origin of what is — so far as I know — a unique experiment in propaganda by a royal province from this side of the ocean at that time. Franklin must have been authorized to select the agent, but his connection with Massie is shown by only one paper in the Franklin collection, dated December 18, 1771, and that relates to an extension of time to fulfill the conditions of a certain transaction, and is worded too cautiously to give foundation even for conjecture. This memorandum was as follows:

Whereas I Benjamin Franklin Esq^r. on the 22nd of Dec^r: 1770, did receive from Joseph Massie sundry manuscript and printed

Books and Papers, upon certain Conditions; and whereas I the said Joseph Massie, on the 22nd. of Dec^r. 1770, did receive from the said Benjamin Franklin Esq^r: the sum of Sixty Guineas, upon certain Conditions; all which Conditions are specified in the Receipts taken by each of us respectively from the other, on the said 22nd. of Dec^r: 1770: Now this Writing or Memorandum witnesseth that it is mutually agreed between us the said Benjamin Franklin and the said Joseph Massie that the Time of performing the several Conditions mentioned in both or either of the aforesaid Receipts, shall be, and is hereby extended or prolonged until the 24th. of June 1772. In Testimony whereof we have each of us hereunto and likewise unto a Duplicate of the same Tenor and Date as this, set our Hands this 18th. of Dec^r. 1771 —

B. FRANKLIN
JOSEPH MASSIE ¹

Of Joseph Massie little is known except that his writings are dull reading. Mr. Gordon Goodwin says of him that his knowledge of the economic literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries made him “upon the whole a discriminating critic, though he was too much inclined to judge events of his own day in the light of the past.” But he adds: “His schemes met apparently with little encouragement either from the public or from the statesmen to whom he dedicated his works, for he had ceased to write, or at least to publish, twenty years before his death, which took place in Holborn on 1 Nov. 1784.” A list of eighteen tracts is appended to Goodwin’s article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, but tables of calculations published in single folio sheets are omitted. It is possible, therefore, that these *Letters* were known to Goodwin, but they are not in the catalogue of the British Museum, and I have found only one example — No. VIII — which I stumbled upon in the New York Historical Society and which is added to this paper. What general effect on English opinion this series of papers was intended to produce it is difficult to conceive. Parliament or the Ministry was the body to act upon, and some liberals, merchants with American connections, and agents of the

¹ From the Franklin Papers in the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, L. (i) 42. I owe the copy to the courtesy of Miss Rebecca E. Kirkpatrick, Assistant Secretary of the Society.

colonies were seeking to influence that source of action, and the general public were not only indifferent but impervious to instruction or discussion of the relations between Great Britain and her American colonies. Who first suggested a campaign of education from Massachusetts-Bay or who designated that somewhat decayed economist, Massie, as a fit instrument for conducting the campaign are questions incapable of answer. We only know that Massachusetts-Bay paid the cost and that the leaflets, hitherto unknown even by title, will take rank among the great rarities in the literature of the War for Independence.¹ Massie's writing for Franklin came to an end in April, 1774, but, with supreme balance and oversense of equal justice, within two months he had sent a printed letter with the caption of the Massachusetts series, but dated June 9, to Lord Dartmouth, and announced the titles of three treatises he proposed to publish on the subject of commerce with Europe and the British American colonies.² In his need he was not going to let a little difference in politics interfere with marketing the products of his pen.³

Another bill filed with these Franklin vouchers was of William Strahan, the King's printer and Franklin's long-time friend, a man of large views and success in business. In it is noted the printing in February, 1773, of five hundred copies of the *Votes and Proceedings of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the Town of Boston, In Town Meeting* [October 28 and November 2 and 20, 1772] which was published by John Wilkie, a noted bookseller of London, with an introduction attributed to Franklin, and a like edition of the *True State of the Proceedings respecting Massachusetts Bay*, first published by Bailey in London in folio and reprinted by Joseph Crukshank in Philadelphia in 1774, the cost of both English issues being paid by Massachusetts. The authorship of the latter tract has been given to Franklin

¹ I have listed them in *Collections*, LXXV. 242.

² Dartmouth Papers, II. 213.

³ In the British Museum is a single sheet of Massie, printed in 1781, entitled: "Second Collection. The following letters [to the Landholders of England and Citizens of London] are here re-printed together for the more convenient information of the Committees and Delegates of associated countries, . . . and all other well-meaning men, throughout England."

or to Arthur Lee, and the mention in the printer's bill is not conclusive on that point. Lee is the more likely to have written it, upon material supplied by Franklin.¹

Another item on Strahan's bill provoked investigation. It called for an edition of five hundred copies of "Petit Code de la Raison Humaine," issued in December, 1772, with two errata in June and September, 1773, all paid for by the Philadelphia Library Company, for which Franklin was continually buying books in London. The bill would show that the entire edition was sent to Philadelphia,² yet the Library which paid the bill does not have a copy of the tract.

The author of this anonymously issued tract was Jacques Barbeau-Dubourg, physician and botanist, born at Mayenne in 1709 and died in Paris in 1779. He was probably something of a liberal in politics, for in 1752, he translated some of Bolingbroke's writings, notably his *Letters on the Study and Use of History*, in two volumes. The next year was published at Paris and at his own expense, *Chronographie ou Description des Temps*, which had enough merit to be edited and republished in 1838, some eighty-five years after its first appearance. He then turned his attention to botany and printed in Paris through Lacombe in 1767 *Botaniste Français*, which is said to have greatly encouraged the taste for botany in France, a taste later much utilized by Jefferson among his lady friends in Paris. In 1769 he translated Dickinson's *Farmer's Letters*. He wrote on medical subjects. It is rather noticeable that he printed in many places — Paris, Siécopole [Frankfort], Dresden and Amsterdam, and a number of his publications have no place of issue. He would have been unknown, even by name, in America had it not been for his friendship for Franklin, for whom his admiration could hardly be expressed in words. It is probable that they met at some meeting of physicists, or Doctors or Physiocrats, and about the year 1768, if the formality of

¹ See Ford's *Bibliography of Franklin*, 315, and Evans, 13282.

² Robert Watt in his *Bibliotheca Britannica*, published in 1824, states that Franklin reprinted the *Petit Code* in England, and "sent it to America," but gives no authority for the statement, now apparently supported by Strahan's bill. Yet I doubt if that was the disposition of the tract.

the earliest of Barbeu-Dubourg's letters offers any indication. The first "favor" seems to have come from Franklin, but the Frenchman loyally discharged the debt by revising and superintending the publication of a translation by Lesqui of Franklin's *Experiments and Observations on Electricity* in 1773. The rest is told in the letters.

In my doubt, on the *Petit Code*, I naturally turned to Mr. William S. Mason, who places his rich Franklin collection and his own wide knowledge freely at the call of investigators. He sent the following titles of issues contained in his library:

1. Code | de l'Humanité | Ou Loix immutables qui servent | de base aux devoirs, aux droits, | & au | bonheur de l'Homme. | Extrait du Mercure de France du mois | de Decembre 1768. | A Paris, | chez Lacombe, Libraire, rue | Christine, près la rue Dauphine. | Avec Approbation & Privilege du Roi.

1 leaf and 14 (3-16) pages 165 x 105 mm. The pamphlet contains 33 short articles and is signed at the end: "A Paris, ce 10 Mars 1768. J. Barbeu-Dubourg." This is the first issue of the *Code* in pamphlet form and a great rarity.

- 1a. *Petit Code* translated in English and printed at the instance of Franklin, 1770.

No copy has been found.

2. Petit Code | de la | Raison Humaine: | ou | Exposition succincte | de ce que | La Raison dicte à tous les Hommes, | pour | Eclairer leur Conduite, & assurer leur | Bonheur. | A Londres | chez Becket & De Hondt, Libraires, dans le Strand, | MDCCLXXIII.

The tract was printed in 1772, as the bill proves, but no copy with title of that year is known. From December, 1772, to September, 1773, it appears to have rested in the hands of the printer and a title for 1773 followed.

3. Petit Code | de la | Raison Humaine, | ou | Exposition succincte | de ce que | La Raison dicte a tous | les hommes, | Pour éclairer leur conduite & | assurer leur bonheur. | Par M. B. D. | M. DCC. LXXXII.

"He [D-B] had enlarged his little piece, which you translated; and in respect for his memory, I have had it printed. I inclose a copy." Franklin to Mrs. Mary Hewson, June, 1782, (Smyth), VIII. 541.

4. Petit Code | de la | Raison Humaine | ou | Exposition succincte | de ce que | La Raison dicte a tous | les Hommes, | Pour éclairer leur conduit & | assurer leur bonheur. | Par M. B. D. | M. DCC. LXXXIX.

Here then is a matter of bibliographical interest, for it proves that the second known issue in the list was printed in London, by William Strahan, at the instance of Franklin, in an edition of five hundred copies, and, apparently, the Philadelphia Library Company paid the cost. Yet it was a second London edition. For Franklin was attracted by the pamphlet and caused it to be translated and printed in England in 1770. Barbeau-Dubourg in November of that year acknowledged the receipt of seven copies of the translation and called attention to an error.¹ The translation was made by Mrs. Mary Hewson, daughter of Mrs. Margaret Stevenson, at whose house, No. 7, Craven Street, Franklin resided for the most part when in London. No copy of this first English translation has been found, and, if published anonymously, it may be buried under an unrecognized title. At that time the author looked for a second London edition, enlarged the essay by more than one-half and sent the new material to Franklin, expressing the wish that it might appear in the same form as the first issue of the tract. Willing to oblige his friend Franklin did print the entire essay, but in the French language, and we are now able to clear away doubts connected with that edition. Quérard gives "Londres, 1774" and Ford "Paris, 1774" as the proper dates. The title bears the imprint: "A Londres: | Chez Becket & De Hondt, Libraires, dans le Strand, | MDCCLXXIII." Two copies are in the Pennsylvania Historical Society and an imperfect copy in the American Philosophical Society, the Library of Congress has one, and Mr. Mason possesses one.

The relations that existed between Franklin and Barbeau-Dubourg induce me to print in full the letters of the latter to Franklin to 1775. After that year, when the Frenchman had become an agent of the united colonies, his letters cease to have any literary or scientific interest. By the courtesy of the American Philosophical Society I am permitted to use those letters.

¹ Livingston, *Franklin and his Press at Passy*, 69.

I¹

A state of the Account between The Honble. Benjamin Franklin Esqr. late agent for this colony in Great Britain and the colony.

The sum of the last Grant made by the House of Representatives to the said Franklin and concurred by the Honble. Board, being for his services at the court of Great Britain from Octo. 31st, 1770, to Octo. 31st, 1773 £ 1100 : — : —

The interest of that sum from Octo. 31st, 1773, to Octo. 31st, 1774 66 : — : —

For his services from Octo. 31st, 1773, to Octo. 31st, 1774 300 : — : —

For his Services from Octo. 31st, 1774, to the end of his Agency, being 4 months 100 : — : —

His Account of Sundry disbursements of Money in the Service of this colony 285 : — : —

In the House of Representatives, Octo. 23d, 1775, *Resolved*, That there be granted and paid out of the publick treasury of this colony to the Honble. Benja. Franklin Esqr. late agent of the House of Representatives of the said colony in Great Britain in full for his services and disbursements in his said agency from Octo. 31st, 1770, to the first day of March, 1775, when his agency determined, the sum of Eighteen hundred and fifty one pounds sterling, and that Henry Gardner Esqr. Treasurer of this colony be and he is hereby directed to wait on the said Benja. Franklin Esqr. now at Cambridge and pay the said sum to him taking his receipt for the same.

Sent up for Concurrence.

J. WARREN, *Speaker*.

In Council Octo. 23d, 1775. Read and Concurred.

PEREZ MORTON, *Deputy Secretary*.

Consented to:

JAMES OTIS

W. SEVER

B. GREENLEAF

CALEB CUSHING

J. WINTHROP

B. CHADBOURN

JOSEPH GERRISH

JEDH. FOSTER

JAMES PRESCOTT

M. FARLEY

S. HOLTEN

MOSES GILL

JABEZ FISHER

B. WHITE

JOHN WHETCOMB

¹ This paper is in the ms. of James Otis.

II

(Bill at the Cockpit.)

Mr. Life for Massachusetts Bay against Governor Hutchinson
Dr. Franklin son and Lieutenant Governor Oliver.

1773

10th Decr.	Order referring to a Committee Address of Assembly against Govr. Hutchinson and Lieut. Govr. Oliver together with Dr. Franklin's Letters to Lord Dartmouth thereupon	3	2	6
	Copy of Address and Letter annexed	1	10	—
	Committee Order for taking the same into Consideration on 11th Janry. 1774	2	2	6
	Summons for parties to attend on that day	—	16	8

1774

11th Janry.	Committee Order for hearing Counsel on this Matter on 29th Janry.	2	2	6
	Summons for hearing	—	16	8
29th Do.	Committee Report	2	12	6
7th Febry.	Duplicate of Order approving Do.	3	12	6
		16	15	10
	Cl[er]ks	1	1	—
		17	16	10

III

Massachusetts Bay

Dr. Franklin

On the Petition of the House of Representatives to his Majesty to remove Governor Hutchinson and Lieutenant Governor Oliver.

1774

Janry. 20th.	Soll[icito]rs Retaining Fee	1	1	—
	Attending Dr. Franklin at his House in Craven Street to take Instructions for Brief when after shortly stating the Nature of the Case he delivered to me a Copy of the Petition with an authentick Copy of Messrs. Hutchinson and Oliver's Letters and his own Remarks on each particular Letter and his general Observa-			

	tions on the whole and gave me directions to retain Mr. Dunning and Mr. Lee	13	4
	Paid Mr. Dunning Retainer for the Petitioners	2	2 —
	Attending him	13	4
	Paid his Clerk	5	—
	Paid Mr. Lee Retainer do	2	2 —
	Paid his Clerk	5	—
	Attending him	13	4
	Perusing the above papers being about 20 Brief Sheets and Dv. ¹ Additions to and Alterations in the Remarks and modelling the whole in the form of a Brief containing 21 Sheets which took me up two whole days	3	3 —
24th	Attending Dr. Franklin to read over and settle the Brief	13	4
	Making two Copys of the two Allegations in the Petition and Drawing a Minite of the Letters that supported them and two Copys thereof near a Brief Sheet	16	8
	Making two Copys of the Resolutions of the House of Representatives 2 Brief Sheets each	1	— —
25th	Attending at the Council Office to give Notice that I was concerned in the Petition and to enquire whether Mr. Bollan had preferred a Petition on behalf of the Council and found he had not and that if he had could not be heard on our Petition. And likewise to enquire if any further Steps were necessary to be taken by us before the Petition came on that they might be stated in our Brief and afterwards attending Dr. Franklin to acquaint him thereof	13	4
	Making two Copys of the Brief for Counsel 21 Brief Sheets each and scoring the particular Passages in the Letters that supported the Petition which took up a considerable time	10	10 —

¹ An uncertain contraction, which might be drawing, draughting, delivering or divers.

	Making another Copy for myself	5	5	—
	Paid Mr. Dunning with his Brief	21	—	—
	Attending him		13	4
	Paid his Clerk and Servant		7	6
	Paid Mr. Lee with his Brief	21	—	—
	Attending him		13	4
	Paid his Clerk and Servant		7	6
26th	Attending at Mr. Dunning's Chambers for upwards of an hour to get him to appoint a time for Consultation and afterwards attending at Mr. Lee's Chambers to fix him for the same		6	8
27th	Attending with Dr. Franklin and Mr. Lee (who is to succeed Dr. Franklin in his Agency) on Consultation with Mr. Dunning and Mr. Lee and was then directed to make two Close Copys of the Bill filed by Mr. Whately against Dr. Franklin	1	6	8
	Paid Mr. Dunning on Consultation	5	5	—
	Paid Mr. Lee the like	5	5	—
	Paid Mr. Dunning's Clerk and Servant		7	6
28th	Making two Copys of the Bill fo: 30 each for the Counsell		10	—
29th	Attending hearing of Petition at the Cockpit which took up several hours	2	2	—
	Paid Bill at the Cockpit	17	16	10
	Making Copy of the Order		7	6
	Paid Coach hire Messengers etc. pending this Affair		13	—
		107	18	2

In Chancery

Hilary Term 1774

Whately v. Franklin.

	Attending to take Instructions to appear	6	8	
	Paid for Appearance	3	4	
	Paid for Office Copy Bill	1	7	6
Janry. 31st	Paid Mr. Dunning a General Retainer for Dr. Franklin in this and all other Causes	5	5	—
	Attending him		13	4

Paid his Clerk	10	6
Paid Mr. Lee the like General Retainer	5	5 —
Attending him	13	4
Paid his Clerk	10	6

Attending Mr. Lee to advise whether proper to demurr to the Bill when he desired to have a Consultation tomorrow Morning with Mr. Dunning and some Chancery Counsel and afterward attending Mr. Jackson to read over the Bill who advised me to lay it before Mr. Sayer this Evening to consider of it and attending Mr. Sayer therewith and left the same with him that he might be prepared to meet on a Consult[atio]n with the rest of the Gentlemen at Westminster Hall and appointed all the Counsell for the Consultat[i]o[n]. All which took up from 6 o Clock in the Evening till $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9

13 4
1 —

Paid Coach hire home

Feby 1st

Attending at Westminster Hall from 11 oClock in the Morning till near 3 in the afternoon when Mr. Jackson Mr. Dunning and Mr. Lee met and consulted together about the Question of Demurring to the Bill but Mr. Sayer being obliged to go to India House they adjourned the meeting till 9 o'Clock in the Evening at Mr. Dunning's Chambers, and attending Mr. Sayer from 8 till 9 at his Chambers searching Cases and afterwards on all the Council at the Consult[atio]n from 9 till 11 when it was determined that it wo[uld] not be proper to demurr but to put in a full Answer Except to those parts of the Bill which were demurable and to insist that the Plt. has no Right to a Discovery either from whom the Dr. had the Letters or to whom he Transmitted them

1 1 —

Paid Mr. Jackson on Consultation

2 2 —

Paid Mr. Dunning the like

2 2 —

Paid Mr. Sayer the like

2 2 —

	Paid Mr. Lee the like	2	2	—
	Paid Mr. Dunning's Clerk and Servant	7	6	
	Paid Coach hire to Westminster Hall and back and from Mr. Dunning's in the Evening		5	—
	Attending Deft. to take Instr[uction] for his Answer		6	8
	Do same for: 20 and fair Copy	13	4	
12th	Attending Deft. at his House in Craven Street to read over and settle the same		6	8
	Paid Coach hire		1	—
	Fair Copy for Mr. Sayer to peruse and settle		3	4
	Paid him therewith	1	1	—
	Attending him		6	8
	Paid his Clerk		2	6
20th	Attending him by his own Appointm[en]t and went thro' the same with him		6	8
				28 18 10
	On the Petition	107	18	2
	In the Cause of Whately and Franklin	28	18	10
				136 17 —
	24th Janry. 1774. Recd of Dr. Franklin on Accot.	63		
	Balance	73	17	
	Recevd this 26th Febry. 1774 of Dr. Franklin the sum of Seventy three Pounds seventeen Shillings the Balance of this Bill.			

THOS. LIFE.

IV

Dr. Franklin Dr.
In Chancery Trinity Term 1774

Whately v. Franklin

Ingrossing Exception to Ma[ste]rs Report
and paid Stamp omitted in the last Bill 2 4
Making 4 Copys of the whole Brief of Bill

	answer Exceptions to the Answer, the Masters Report of the insufficiency of the Answer and Defts. Exc[epti]ons to the Masters Report 6 Brief Sheets each for Mr. Ambler Mr. Jackson Mr. Dunning and Mr. Lee	3	—	—
	Paid Mr. Ambler with his Brief	3	3	—
	Paid his Clerk		2	6
	Paid the like to Mr. Jackson and Clerk	3	5	6
	Paid the like to Mr. Dunning and Clerk	3	5	6
	Paid the like to Mr. Sayer and Clerk	3	5	6
	Attending the above Counsel		13	4
	Making Copy Answer, Exc[epti]ons thereto, Masters Report thereon and Exc[eptio]n to Masters Report, for the Lord Chancellor		6	8
	Attending at Lord Chancellor's House with the same		6	8
	Paid Lord Chancellor's Clerk on leaving same		5	3
Nov. 2d	Attending at Lincoln's Inn Hall on Exc[eptio]ns in the paper but they did not come on		6	8
Mich[] as Term 1774.				
	Paid Mr. Lee with his Brief (he being out of Town when the Briefs were delivered to the other Counsel)		3	3
	Attending him		6	8
	Paid his Clerk		2	6
	Paid Mr. Ambler refreshing Fee	1	1	—
	Paid Mr. Jackson the like	1	1	—
	Paid Mr. Dunning the like	1	1	—
	Paid Mr. Sayer the like	1	1	—
Nov. 11th.	Attending Exc[eptio]ns but they did not come on and paid Coach hire with papers		7	8
15th	The like		7	8
16th	The like		7	8
18th	The like		7	8
25th	The like Attendance and paid Coach hire there and back		8	8
Dec. 19th	The like and paid Coach hire there with papers		7	8

20th	The like	7	8
1775			
Jany 12th	Attending Mr. Sayer at Lincoln's Inn Hall in the Morning to advise how to act about Mr. Dunning when he directed me to wait upon him to acquaint him that the Exceptions would be in the paper Tomorrow and some days after and to know from him which of those days would be most convenient for him to attend and afterwards attending at his Chambers and he not being there followed him to the Cock-pit but the Lords being sitting could not get near him and returned back to his Chambers and was informed that he would be at Chambers in the Evening between 7 and 8 o Clock and attending from that time 'till 9 before I could see him when I begged of him to let me know which day would suit him best and he informed me that he would attend upon any day that it could be known it would certainly come on	10	6
14th	Attending Exc[eptio]ns but they did not come on. Paid co: Hire	7	8
16	The like	7	8
17th	The like and paid Coach hire there and back	8	8
	Term Fee Clerk and Sol.	10	—
	Letters and Messengers	2	—

Hilary Term

	Paid Mr. Ambler refreshing Fee	1	1	—
	Paid Mr. Jackson the like	1	1	—
	Paid Mr. Dunning the like	1	1	—
	Paid Mr. Sayer the like	1	1	—
	Paid Mr. Lee the like	1	1	—
Mar 27th	Attending at Lincolns Inn Hall when Exc[epti]ons were part heard and paid Coach hire with papers	7	8	
	The like when Order was made and Deft. ordered to Answer 3 of the Exc[epti]ons	7	8	

1922.]

FRANKLIN'S ACCOUNTS.

III

	Paid Court Fees	2 6
	Paid for Copy Minitts	2
	Paid for Copy Order	4 6
	Perusing same and attending to pass it	6 8
	Attending the Register to receive back Deposit	6 8
	Paid on receiving back Deposit	5 —
	Term Fee Clerk and Soll	10 —
	Letters and Messengers	2 —
April 5	Writing a Long Letter to Dr. Franklin giving him an Account of Lord Chancellor's Order on the Exc[eptio]ns and desiring his directions how to act	6 8
		£39 6 7

In the House of Lords

Session 1775

Franklin v. Whately

	Solicitors retaining Fee	I I —
March 22	Being informed that Dr. Franklin was gone to America Attending Mr. Lee who succeeded him in his Agency for the House of Representatives of the Massachusetts Bay to enquire whether the Dr. had settled any thing with him relative to bringing the Cause below to a Hearing or had left any directions about my Appealing to the House of Lords or whether as it was a Cause of the Province and not of the Drs. own Mr. Lee would see me paid, when he absolutely refused, saying that the Dr. was my Client and not the Province And after- wards attending at the House of Lords to search how many Causes were unheard and to inform myself how I should act to prevent the Appeal being brought on this Session when I was advised to delay pre- ferring it 'till within a few days before the End of the Session and was informed that I must enter into a Recognizance of 200 <i>l.</i> to pay the Respondents Costs	I I —

Attending Mr. Dunning to consider about appealing when he advised me to do it and then informed him of the Dr's situation and that he was liable to be taken up by process of Contempt for not putting in a further Answer if he returned before the next Session of Parliament and no Petition of Appeal presented

6 8

Paid Mr. Dunning Retainer

2 2 —

Attending him

13 4

Paid his Clerk

5 —

Paid Mr. Lee retainer

2 2 —

Attending him

13 4

Paid his Clerk

5 —

Perusing the sev[era]l pleadings in the Cause by Way of Inst[ructio]n for Appeal Do. Petition of Appeal and fair Copy for Counsel

2 2 —

Paid Mr. Sayer to peruse and settle same

2 2 —

Attending him

13 4

Paid his Clerk

5 —

Paid Mr. Dunning to peruse and sign

Pet[itio]n of Appeal

2 2 —

Attending him

13 4

Paid his Clerk

5 —

Paid Mr. Lee to peruse and sign Pet[itio]n of Appeal

2 2 —

Attending him

13 4

Paid his Clerk

5 —

For Attendance at the House of Lords on many different days to watch the Causes in hearing and as the Order on the Exc[eptio]ns was not passed and entered to advise there how to act when they directed me to search at the Registers Office on the Morning I went to Lodge the Pet[itio]n to enable me to give Evidence at the House of Lords that it was not passed and entered to support an Allegation in the Pet[itio]n that it was not if I was called upon and Dr[awing] and settling the Allegation with the Officers of the House of Lords

2 2 —

	Engrossing the Petit[io]n	13	4
	Paid parchment	2	3
May 24th.	Attending at the Registers to search if the Order was passed and entered and found it was not	6	8
	Attending at the House of Lords to present the Petit[io]n and waited there sev[era]l Hours in order to give Evidence at the Bar of the Order not being passed and Entered but was not called upon	2	2 —
26th	Attending at the House of Lords to get the Order made on the Petit[io]n and to enter into a Recognizance for Costs	1	1 —
	Paid for the Order	2	2 —
	Paid for the Recognizance	2	2 —
	Paid Mr. Croft his Bill	2	2 —
	Making 2 Copys of the Order and Service on Mr. Robinson the Clerk in Court and Mr. Bargrave the Soll[icitor]	1	— —
	Making 2 Copys of the Recognizance and Service on Do.	10	—
	Paid Coach hire and Expences pending this Affair	18	6
	Session Fee	1	1 —
		36	8 5
[	] Whately, in Chancery	39	6 7
		75	15 —

¹ Total of the above Bill 75 15

Deduct the Deposit received
back out of Court in the
Chancery Cause

5

70 15

¹ In the ms. of Thomas Life.

V

Dr. Franklin Dr.

Hilary Term 1774

Franklin v. Whately

Febry 3d.	Drawing and Engrossing Pet[itio]n for time to answer and	4	6
	Duty paid answering Petition	5	6
	Paid Drawing up Order and Entry and Copy to enter	7	—
	Copy and Service	2	—
28th	Making 3 Close Copys of Bill fo: 30 each and 3 Close Copys of the Draft of the Answer fo: 20 each for Council	1	5 —
	Attending Mr. Jackson Mr. Sayer Mr. Dunning and Mr. Lee therewith and to get a time appointed for a Consultation	1	6 8
March 2d	Dr[awing] and Engr[ossing] Petition for further time to answer and duty	4	6
	Paid answering Petition	5	6
	Paid Drawing up Order thereon and Entry and Copy to enter	7	—
	Copy and Service	2	—
	Attending Dr. Franklin Mr. Jackson and Mr. Sayer at Mr. Dunning's Chambers in order to have a Consultation upon the Draft of the Answer for an Hour and a half but Mr. Dunning did not come	6	8
	Paid Coach hire to Mr. Dunning's and back again	2	—
	5th Attending Consultation with Dr Franklin Mr. Jackson Mr. Dunning and Mr. Sayer on the Draft of Dr. Franklin's answer which lasted upwards of 2 Hours when many Alterations were made in the Draft	13	4
	Paid Mr. Jackson on Consultat[i]on	2	2 —
	Paid Mr. Dunning on Do.	2	2 —
	Paid Mr. Sayer on Do.	2	2 —
	Paid Mr. Dunning's Clerk and Servant	7	6
	Paid Coach hire home	1	6
	Making fair Copy of the Answer as		

	settled by Councel on the Consultation fo: 24	4 —
21st	Attending Dr. Franklin at his House in Craven Street to consider his Alterations in the Answer	6 8
23d	Attending Mr. Jackson Mr. Sayer and Mr. Dunning separately to peruse Dr. Frank- lin's Answer as settled at the Consultation and Mr. Dunning acquainted me that he had seen Mr. Lee at the York Assizes who asked him about a particular Fact being inserted in the Answer which Mr. Dunning could not then recollect and therefore referred me to him	13 4
31st	Dr[awing] and Eng[rossing] Petition for further time to answer until the first day of next Easter Term and duty	4 6
	Paid answering Pet[itio]n	5 6
	Paid Dr[awing] up Order and Entry and Copy to enter	7 —
	Copy and Services	2 —
	Paid Mr. Wainwright signing Consent to pray no further time	3 4
April 8th	Attending Mr. Lee to Peruse and Consult on Dr. Franklin's Answer when he shewed me an Alteration he had made in it and afterwards on Dr. Franklin to acquaint him thereof when he said he could very safely swear it as altered and afterwards Attending Mr. Sayer to acquaint him thereof	6 8
	Paid Mr. Lee his Consultation Fee	2 2 —
	Paid Coach hire to Mr. Lee's and back again it being a rainy day	2 —
	Engr[ossing] Answer fo: 24	8 —
	Paid for Parchment and Stamps for Do.	3 8
19th	Attending Dr. Franklin in the Morning to read over his Answer and in the after- noon to the Publick Office to swear it	6 8
	Paid for Oath	1 —
	Abbreviating Bill and Answer fo: 54	9 —
	Making fair Copy thereof 5 Brief Sheets	12 6
	Term Fee Clerk and Soll[icitor]	10 —
	Letters and Messengers	2 —

Trinity Term 1774

Making Copy of Answer for Dr. Franklin	4	—
Paid for Office Copy Exc[epti]ons to Defts. Answer fo: 10 and duty	9	2
Making 2 fair Copys thereof one for Dr. Franklin and the other for Mr. Sayer	3	4
Perusing Bill Answer and Exc[epti]ons and making Copy of the Interr part of the Bill and scoring the Passages in the Bill and Exc[epti]ons and marking the Passages in the Answer relating thereto	10	6
Paid Mr. Sayer to argue Exc[epti]ons before the Master	1	1 —
Attending him	6	8
Paid his Clerk	2	6
Attending warrant to argue Exc[epti]ons when 9 Exc[epti]ons were allowed	6	8
Paid for Masters Report of Insufficiency of Answer	1	6
Close Copy	1	—
Dr[awing] Exc[epti]ons to Masters Report and fair Copy for Counsel	7	8
Paid Mr. Sayer to sign Exc[epti]ons	10	6
Attending him	6	8
Paid Deposit Money on leaving Exception to Master's Report with the Register	5	— —
Attending to leave Exc[epti]on at the Register Office and to get a Certificate thereof and to pay Deposit Money	6	8
Making 3 fair Copys of Bill Answer and Exc[epti]ons for Council 5 Brief Sheets each	1	7 6
Term Fee Clerk and Soll[icito]r	10	—
Letters and Messengers	2	—
Total of the above Bill	£31	13 10
Paid the Doorkeepers and Messengers Fees on hearing the Petition of the House of Representatives of the Massachusetts Bay at the Cockpit omitted in the former Bill	1	11 6
	£33	5 4

Received August 12th, 1774, of Dr.
Franklin the sum of Thirty three Pounds
five Shillings and four pence the Con-
tents of the above Bill for Mr. Life.

PHILIP MORSHEAD
Agent to Mr. Life.

VI¹

Account of Money paid by B. Franklin
in the Service of the Province of the
Massachusetts Bay

	Sterling
To Mr. Life, Solicitor, his first Bill	£136 17 0
To Ditto his second Bill	33 5 4
To Ditto his third Bill	70 15 0
To Mr. Dunning (Counsellor) a special Fee	10 10 0
To Charles Say, Printer	12 5 0
To William Strahan, Do.	16 12 0
To Messengers of the Board of Trade, a Guinea Yearly at Christmas	5 5 0
	£285 9 4

Some other small Sums were disburs'd
for Printing, Coach and Chair Hire, etc.,
of which I have no Account.

VII

Mr. Massie Dr. to C. Say.

1774
March 10

To Paper and Printing An Account of the Trade between Ireland and London, One Sheet Small Pica Demy Folio No. 1000	£3 4 —
Do. An Account of the Trade between New England and London, Part new set, and the rest over-run from the foregoing. Number the same	2 9 —
Do. Eight Hundred Demy Octavo Bills relative to the above Accounts	— 6 —

¹ In ms. of Franklin.

	31	Do. Letter to the Principal Landholders, etc. No. 8. One Sheet sm. Pica Demy Fol. No. 1000	3	4	—
		Do. Letter to the Principal Landholders, etc. No. 9. A Demy Long Prim. Quarto Page printed by itself. No. 100	—	5	—
March	31	{ Do. Letters to the Principal Landholders, etc. No. 9 and 10. printed together on two Demy Quarto Pages. No. 1800	1	1	—
April	7				
April	14.	Do. Letter to the Principal Landholders, etc. No. 11, two Long Prim. Quarto Pages perfect on Double Demy No. 4000	1	16	—
				£12	5 —

Ave Maria Lane, 25 April, 1774. Recd. of J. Massie Twelve Pounds five Shillings being the full Contents of the Above Bill and for which Sum under a Duplicate of said Bill I have this Day given another Receipt of the same Tenor with this.

C. SAY.

Witness, J. WRAYE.

26 April, 1774. Received of Benjamin Franklin Esqr. Twelve Pounds Five Shillings being the full Contents of the above Bill. £12:5:0

J: MASSIE.

VIII

Dr. Franklin To Will: Strahan.

1772					
Decr.		Sheet of Rules, 2 Reams	PL ¹	2	2 —
		Two Reams of Writing Medium Paper for Do.	PL	2	8 —
		Petit Code de la Raison Humaine 4 sheets No. 500, @ 14s	PL	2	16 —
		Four Reams of Paper for Do.	PL	3	— —
		Stitching Do. 50 of which in marble Paper	PL	1	5 —

¹ In MS. of Franklin for Philadelphia Library Company.

1773	February	Votes of Freeholders of Boston, 3½ sheets, No. 500 @ 14s	2 9 —	
		3½ Reams of Paper for Do Massachusetts ¹	2 9 —	
June and September		Two Erratas for Petit Code, No. 500 with Paper	PL 15 —	
1772		Every Man his own Vermin Killer	} charged to W. F. Augt. 24: 1772	
August 24		Georgical Essays, 4 vols sewed		1 6
		Young's Eastern Tour, 4 vols		10 —
		Balance due on account of the Philadel- phia Library Company		1 4 —
				91 14 6
			£110 14 —	
		True State of Proceedings ¹ Massachu- setts ¹	11 14	
			122 8	

Received Sepr. 13, 1774, of Benj. Frank-
lin Esqr. the Contents of the above Bill
in full.

WILL: STRAHAN

[On the reverse.]

Books sent to the Philadelphia Library Company

July, 1772, Entered to Ly. Co.

April, 1773 102:18: 6

Discount on Do. 5 per Ct. 5: 3: 0 97:15: 6

Do. sent Do. February, 1774, Entd.

Ly Co.

98:18: 0

Discount on Do. Apl. 7.

1774

4:19: 0 93:19: 0

191:14: 6

Received on acct. June 11, 1772

100: 0: 0

Balance

£91:14: 6

¹ In ms. of Franklin.

IX

	Printed for Dr. Franklin	By Will: Strahan	
1774	True State of the proceedings respecting Massachusetts Bay,		<i>L s d</i>
May	6 sheets, No. 500, @	£1:4:0	7: 4: 0
	For 6 Reams of Paper for Do. @	12s.	3:12: 0
	For Title to Do. No. 350, with Paper ¹		0:18: 0
			£11:14: 0

To the Principal LANDHOLDERS of ENGLAND

AND

To the Principal CITIZENS of LONDON.

GENTLEMEN,

No. VIII.

1. **S**UCH of ye as remember my general Propositions, or First Principles, relating to Colonies, (published in the Year 1761) may easily believe that the British Colonies in North-America will rise to Independency and Empire *soon enough*, without our doing any thing to hasten their Growth; for in less than a Hundred and Fifty Years they have cleared vast Tracts of Land, on a widely extended and fertile Continent; and they have so well adapted their several Sorts of Culture and Product to their widely differing Climates, that they form a System of Maritime Trade among themselves; in which great Work they have been so far aided by the Accession of oppressed or distressed People from England, Scotland, Ireland, Germany, Switzerland, France, and other Parts of Europe, that partly by Emigrants and partly by natural Increase, they are become respectable for Number; and they are so inured to Toil and Danger by the *Plough*, the *Axe*, the *Sail*, and the *Musket*, that I do not see how any thing less than the Ruin of this Kingdom can be the ultimate Consequence of our either taking hostile Measures against any of those Colonies, or endeavouring to introduce new fangled Politics among them.

2. For according to the best Information I have been able to obtain, there now are about Two Millions of Free People in all those Colonies; and most of them breathe in Air so favourable to

¹ This would indicate that 150 copies of the tract were issued without a title-page.

the Human Species, that they are reckoned, upon a general Average, to double their Numbers every Twenty-five Years; so that if no more oppressed or distressed People go from Europe to settle among them, Fifty Years will, by the common Course of Nature, be sufficient to make them equal in Number to the People of Great-Britain; and, if Government doth not very soon take wise and honest Courses, less than Half Fifty Years will bring those Colonies to an Equality with this Kingdom; for ruinous Councils and Measures have already impoverished and distressed this Nation in such a Manner, that our Husbandmen, Manufacturers, and Seamen, leave us by Ship Loads, without a *Lewis the Fourteenth*, or a *Revocation of the Edict of Nantes*, to drive them abroad; and the Prospect of nothing but Poverty and Misery in this Country, prevents the Generality of suffering People from much caring whether they *do* or *do not* leave any of their own Flesh and Blood to suffer after them; so that it may well be doubted whether or not there will be Four Millions of People in this Kingdom, Twenty Years hence, if wise and honest courses are not taken.

3. But of such horrid Devastation, and of many other important Matters, every Man will be better able to judge for himself, when the Causes of hostile Proceedings between the Mother-Country and her Colonies, as well as the Tendency of the Measures now taking by Parliament, have been duly considered; for there appears to me to be such a Mixture of Right and Wrong on each Side of the Question, that he who undertakes to justify, or to condemn, all that hath been done by either, will only make *bad, worse*, and may prevent the curing of a Disease that doth not yet seem to be incurable; neither would this Kingdom and those Colonies now have been impoverished and distracted by any such Disease, if the late Mr. George Grenville had either known how to make a proper Use of my Colony-Propositions, or had desired to know what I could have told him for the common Good of both; but he, and several other Ministers affected to hold me and my Arguments in great Contempt, though, upon Twenty different Occasions, they have sat like chidden Children to hear what I had got to tell them; and now, the whole Nation may with Sorrow read in *new Malt and Beer Taxes*, in *American Disputes*, in *Emigrations to America*, and in *the Faces of half-starved Men, Women, and Children*, the HONESTY and ABILITY of those Ministers.

4. The first Cause of Misunderstanding between Great-Britain and the British North-American Colonies, was, the laying of a Tax upon them, towards paying the Charges of Government in this Kingdom; which Measure always appeared to me to be as constitutional as it is for the King to make War or Peace; but, on

the other Hand, I must observe that our Northern Colonies seem to me to have such Objections against that sort of Taxation, as cannot be removed otherwise than by the British Parliament laying a proportionable Tax or Taxes, for the like Purpose, upon the People of Ireland; because our North-American Colonies defray the Charges of their respective Governments, which is all that the People of Ireland can be said to do; for they do not maintain Twelve Thousand regular Forces, to serve or help Great-Britain, but to prevent such Massacres of Protestants by Papists as there were in the last Century; so that I cannot discover any Reason why our Northern Colonies should contribute towards the Charges of British Government, until the People of Ireland proportionably contribute for the same Purpose; although the Right of so taxing both, or either, doth, and constitutionally must, belong to the Parliament of Great-Britain.

5. Now if these Premises are well founded, it will from them follow, that the first Cause of Misunderstanding between Great-Britain and the British North-American Colonies, was such a Partiality in Taxation towards the Charges of British Government, as those Colonies might well think oppressive; and the Second Cause of Misunderstanding appears to me to be the sending into those Colonies a considerable Body of regular Land Forces; from which Measure nothing could reasonably be inferred but an Intention, in British Government, to levy the Tax that had been so partially laid; of which there was such Proof given last Year, by a new Tea-Tax Act for the British American Colonies, that I am not surprized to hear of the Outrages since committed in New-England; neither did I imagine that Government would have been desirous to take any more Colony Physic, after it had seen a Necessity for *unsaying* and *undoing* so much of what it had *said* and *done*; more especially when I considered how that great Statesman and General, King George the First, wisely receded from a wrong Measure taken about Irish Halfpence, by sending over to Ireland such a Lord Lieutenant as he thought most capable of bringing the People to Temper again.

6. For the Taxes in Dispute have already done more Mischief to this Kingdom than can soon be repaired; and they bear such a trifling Proportion to the Charges of British Government, that I cannot help thinking there is some *farther Meaning*, by running such Lengths, than the getting of such pitiful Aid; because our American Colonies take about one Half of all the British Woollen, Linen, Silk, Cotton, Leather, Iron, Copper, Brass, Pewter, Glass, &c. Manufactures we export; and they pay for them in such a Variety of Materials for Manfactury, or of Provisions for Home

Consumption and Re-exportation, that they enable this Nation to pay Half its present Taxes, though they do not directly contribute any Thing by Way of Taxes to the Support of British Government: for the Exports from all Trading Countries are to the Nations which inhabit them, what Estates or Incomes are to Private Men; and if ruinous Councils and Measures deprive us of our American Colonies, a few Years will shew that they have deprived us of a Market for Half of all the Woollen and other Manufactures we yearly export; and they who have brewed so much Sorrow for Millions, will *then feel*, if they cannot now see, that Half of the Land Rents, Incomes, Public Revenues, and Naval Power of this Kingdom are derived from those very Colonies.

7. Certainly, a Prince who is stiled *Lord of the British Seas*, should make the Preservation of British Naval Power the first Object of his Attention; for it is not English Oak, nor Iron Guns, but English Seamen, who, in the last War, adorned the Crown with Trophies of Victory and Naval Empire; so that a fine Shew of Ships at Spithead, and a great Hurly-burly in our Dock-yards, with a double diligent First Lord of the Admiralty to inspect them, will all prove a mere Farce, if a longer Perseverance in ruinous Councils and Measures robs us of Half the English Seamen necessary to *steer, load and fire*: I therefore should like to know what Dispatches the French and Spanish Ambassadors have sent to their respective Courts, about Lord Sandwich's labouring to keep up our Naval Power, and Lord North's labouring to pull it down; for such *doing and undoing* is of far greater importance to those Courts, than the Loss of Fifty British Line of Battle Ships would be; because we could repair the Loss of Fifty Men of War, as the French several Times have done; but if we lose American Colony Employment for our Shipping, we lose Half of our present Nurseries for Seamen; and add to the Wealth and Naval Power of other Nations, all that ruinous Councils and Measures take from the Wealth and Naval Power of Great-Britain.

8. And, to shew that nothing less than Half of our Naval Power is at Stake, I must begin with saying that I lately computed (by such Accounts as are printed on the Two annexed Sheets) the Tonnage of all the Goods imported from each Country or Colony, into the Port of London, in One Year, just before our North-American Troubles begun; in which Computations, I have separated the Quantities of Corn, and other Staple Commodities of England, from the rest of the Imports; because there is no other Want of such Provisions in England than what ruinous Councils and Measures have brought upon us; and therefore the former will cease when the latter end; so that no Man who knows what *is*, and

what *is not*, a Source of Naval Power, can reckon the Importation of Corn, Beef, Pork, Butter, &c. into England, a Nursery for English Seamen; though the Exportation of such Commodities was, from the glorious Revolution in 1688 to the Death of the good Mr. Pelham, a very considerable Source of British Naval Power and Wealth also; of which there needs no other Proof than what the truly patriotic Sir Stephen-Theodore Janssen, Bart. lately caused to be printed, *to open the Eyes of the People*; for it appears by the Account so printed that the Medium Yearly Quantity of English Corn exported to all Countries, was full 750,000 Quarters, for Five Years, from 1744 to 1748.

9. Now if we reckon Five Quarters of Corn to make One Ton, such an Export of English Corn will amount to no less than One Hundred and Fifty Thousand Tons *per Annum*; and the carrying of it abroad would freight Fifteen Hundred Sail of British Ships, of One Hundred Tons Burthen each; for the great King William and his wise Parliament did effectually secure to our own Seamen and Shipping this doubly important Employment, by not allowing any bounty on English Corn exported in Foreign Shipping, nor even in British Shipping, if the Master and Two Thirds of the Seamen were not British Subjects; so that when wise Councils prevail, the Exportation of English Corn to all Countries may justly be reckoned to employ and maintain, *at the Expence of other Nations*, about Five Thousand English Seamen, and Seventy-five Thousand Tons of English-built Shipping; but those artificial Scarcities which were introduced into England under the *Auspices* of William Pitt, Esq; now Earl of Chatham, have robbed our Seamen and Shipping of all that Employment, and in effect destroyed One Tenth Part of the Royal Navy; over and above the Loss of One Million Sterling a Year to the whole Nation; for the prime Cost, Freight, and Merchants Profits, on such an Exportation of English Corn, even in Times of great Plenty, could not yearly amount to a less Sum.

10. Such, with respect to national Wealth, and naval Power, have already been the Effects of those ruinous Councils and Measures which have beggared or driven abroad so many People; and when the remaining Part of British naval Power is estimated, I believe that One Half of it will be found to stand upon an American Foundation; but, to prevent this Information from coming too late, I must here insert only the Totals of my Computations of Tonnage, without mentioning what I have to offer in Support of them; for if I had not been writing or calculating till near Twelve o'Clock last Night, and up again at Three this Morning, the following Abstracts of Tonnage could not have been printed To-day;

but the Inspector-general, &c. of the Exports, Imports, and Shipping, have all the particular Accounts necessary for the Examination of these Abstracts; and as to the Errors in the printed Bills of Entry, I do not believe it can be made appear that they amount to Ten *per Cent.* upon the whole; neither are the Inspector-general's Computations of Value, to be much regarded, if he continues to estimate the yearly Imports from Hudson's Bay at £.12,000 a Year, when those Imports sell for above £.20,000 a Year, without the Drawbacks of Duty. See the Report on that Trade, Anno 1749.

II. But to remove all Doubts concerning these Matters, so far as it is in my Power to remove them, I think it necessary to say, that no Endeavours of mine have been, or will be wanting, to get such Particulars stated and printed as will enable the Merchants of London to determine for themselves, whether my Computations *are*, or *are not*, in Substance true; for as to Exactness, in such a Variety of complicated Affairs, they very well know it is not to be expected; neither are these Abstracts so near the Truth as I can bring them, when I have got proper Information of several Things about which I now am at a Loss; and in relation to the Principle, or Foundation, upon which these Abstracts are formed, it is necessary to previously say, that 50 Tons of Goods exported to, or imported from, East-India; 100 Tons exported to, or imported from, the British American Colonies; and 200 Tons of Goods exported to, or imported from, other Countries in Europe, do equally contribute towards the Support of British naval Power; the Reason of which is, that four Voyages may, upon an Average, be made to other Parts of Europe, while one Voyage is making to British America; and two American Voyages may be made while one is making to East-India; so that the real Tonnage must be halved or doubled accordingly; but this Rule cannot so easily be applied to our own Coast Trade; and therefore I shall reckon nine Voyages for a Year's Employment; leaving the other Three Months for Repairs, Delays by contrary Winds, &c.

*Yearly European, Asiatic, and African Employment
and Maintenance for British Shipping.*

	Tonnage No. Tons	Seamen Number
Coals, exported from England		
to other Countries, Two Thirds of the whole		6,000
— carried Coastwise, Two Thirds of the whole		2,100
Coasting Trade and Coast Fisheries,		
Two Thirds of the whole		4,000
Irish and Foreign European Trade, for Imports specified		
in the printed Bills of London Entries — —	85,280	
Ditto not so specified	6,300	
	91,580	
Deduct for Goods imported by Foreign Shipping into the		
Port of London — — — — —	18,000	
Total Tonnage of Foreign European Imports to London,		
in British Shipping, is — — —	73,580	
Turkey ditto — — —	851	
East-India ditto — — —	10,000	
Africa, Madeira, and Canary Islands, ditto —	660	
Total Tonnage of foreign Goods imported from all Coun- tries excepting British America — — —	85,091	
But to bring this Tonnage upon an Equality, <i>as to naval Power</i> , with British American Tonnage, 10,000 Tons are to be added for East-India, and 36,790 deducted from Europe; so the Total is less by — — —	26,790	
And there remain for the constant Employment and Main- tenance of British Seamen	Tons 58,301	

*Yearly British American Colony Employment for
Shipping, from and to the Port of LONDON.*

British American Imports specified in the printed Bills of Entry — — — — —	93,464
Masts, Yards, and Bowsprits from <i>New-England</i> , for the <i>Royal Navy</i> , about 5,000 Tons yearly, and about 2,000 Tons of Timber for Sale; neither of them specified in the printed Bills — — — — —	7,000
Tonnage for the constant Employment and Maintenance of Seamen is — — — — —	100,464

Now, in order to determine how far these differing Quan-
tities of trading Shipping respectively contribute towards
the Support of British naval Power, it will be necessary
to consider what Number of Seamen the same will

severally employ and maintain all the Year round; and, for want of better Information, I shall at present reckon upon Seven Men and Boys for every Hundred Tons of Shipping; at which Estimation 58,301 Tons will require, of Men and Boys — — — — —	4,081
Together making — — — — — Men	16,181
But of this Number there are employed and maintained by the Freight of 31,414 Tons of British American Com- modities yearly re-exported from London, about — }	881
So that the Port of London's Proportion of home and foreign European, &c. Employment for British Seamen will require — — — — — }	15,300
And the Port of London's Proportion of British American Employment, at the same Rate, will require — — }	7,028

To which there are to be added Two Thirds of all the Seamen employed by the British American Colonies, in their Whale, Cod, and other Fisheries; in trading between Port and Port in North-America; in trading with the British and Foreign West-India Sugar Colonies, and the Spanish Settlements; in carrying Salt Cod, Wheat, Rice, Timber, Lumber, &c. to Italy, Spain, Portugal, Flanders, Holland, Germany, and Ireland; to which last Country, I have been credibly informed, they yearly import above Twenty Thousand Hogsheads of Flax Seed; and I have Reason to believe that they employ Two Hundred Sail of Ships, both Winter and Summer, in taking Whales of one Sort or other.

All which Matters and Things being duly considered, I still am of Opinion that full one Half of the Naval Power, Wealth, &c, of Great Britain, do stand upon an American Foundation.

28 March, 1774.

J. MASSIE.

N. B. Some Copies of this Third Sheet will be left at New Lloyd's Coffee-House, and at the London Tavern, for Perusal.

LETTERS OF BARBEU-DUBOURG TO FRANKLIN.

A PARIS ce 8e May 1768.

Monsieur: — Je suis très sensible à l'honneur de votre souvenir et à tant et de si gracieux témoignages de votre bienveillance. Dès le lendemain de votre trop prompt départ, je reçus par le canal d'un de vos amis le traité de le petite vérole de M. Dimsdale¹ qui me fit un plaisir singulier; j'avois toujours regardé le méthode échauffante: et la méthode rafraichissante, de la manière qu'on l'entend couramment, comme deux systèmes opposés également

¹ Thomas Dimsdale, whose *Present Method for Inoculating for the Small-Pox* reached a fifth edition, London, 1769.

suspects, également dangereux, et j'avois toujours cherché à tenir le plus juste milieu entre les deux, or je le trouve précisément dans la nouvelle méthode rafraichissante, qu'il ne font pas confondre avec l'ancienne, ou antiphlogistique comme on l'appelloit, et que ne consistant que dans les saignées reiterées, la diète rigide, le petit lait, l'orgeat, et autres semblables boissons auroit été mieux nommé affoiblissante, au lieu que la nouvelle méthode rafraichissante consistant principalement dans l'admission de l'air frais et pur, mérite véritablement d'être appelée tonique ou fortifiante à plus juste titre que le méthode échauffante et incendiaire des cordiaux et des alexipharmques. Je suis étonné que l'on n'ait pas fait peser cette observation en l'honneur de la nouvelle méthode, car on auroit tort de croire que les dénominations soient sans conséquence pour le fonds des choses que l'on a à propos au public. C'est ce que votre exemple, Monsieur, doit bien faire sentir à ces Messieurs. quel modèle admirable de ménagement de termes vous leur donnez dans les papiers périodiques dont vous avez eu la bonté de m'envoyer un exemplaire. vos amis seront très contens que vous les ayez traités de tous et abandonnés comme tels, et ce ne sera pas à leurs dépens que le Public rira, mais aux dépens de leurs adversaires que vous n'avez eu garde de traiter de sots, mais à qui vous faites sentir leur sotise à ne pouvoir la méconnoître euxmêmes et à être forcés d'en convenir, toutes fois qu'on leur présentera votre petit miroir. Je me suis empressé de faire traduire et ces papiers et votre précédent interrogatoire (ou examination), pour en regaler mes compatriots, et le tout, sera imprimé successivement dans les Ephémérides du Citoyen, en commençant le mois prochain, et quoiqu'on puisse bien s'en rapporter au traducteur que s'en est chargé, je n'en laisse rien mettre sous presse sans m'assurer par moi même de son exactitude autant qu'il est en moi, je suis trop jaloux de cet objet. J'en avois cependant fait de vive voix un croquis grossier de traduction dans des assemblées respectables chez M. le Marquis de Mirabaud, mais seulement par préliminaire, et avec de bonnes protestations contre le tort que feroit à l'ouvrage un jugement précipité sur une esquisse si informe de traduction. J'ai l'honneur de vous adresser cy jointe la petite explication que vous avez la bonté de me demander de ma carte chronographique, c'est changer des armes de cuivre contre des armes d'or que de troquer ainsi avec vous, c'est faire comme fit Diomède avec Glaucus, et je rougis de mon rôle, car l'avantage étoit tout du côté du Héros dans l'ancien exemple, et c'est icy le contraire. J'ai reçu avec reconnaissance et vu avec plaisir la carte biographique de M. Priestley qui est effective-

ment construite presque sur les mêmes principes que la mienne sans plagiat de part ni d'autre, car je ne prétens point me prévaloir de la date. Je connoissoit peu les noix *Walnut*, et point du tout les *hickory*, et je vous suis extrêmement obligé d'avoir bien voulu m'en envoyer; puissions nous quelque jour en manger des fruits icy ensemble que je les trouverois délicieux en pareil cas. Tant de faveurs de votre part m'enhardissent à vous demander encore une grace, c'est de savoir si la liberté de la presse est assez entière soit à Londres ou à Philadelphie, pour qu'on pût y faire imprimer un ouvrage hardi de pur Déisme, et si en supposant que cette liberté ait lieu, vous me permettriez de vous le faire passer et de le mettre sous votre protection. M^{elles} Basseporte et Bihéron vous remercient de l'honneur de votre souvenir et vous font mille complimens chacune, et ma femme au moins deux mille pour sa part. Si vous avez occasion de voir M. Pringle, voudrez vous bien lui présenter mes très humbles civilités. Je suis avec une estime distinguée et une considération respectueuse, Monsieur, votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur.

DUBOURG.¹

[1770 ?]²

Il est arrivé icy depuis environ un mois un Abbé qui a été Professeur de Philosophie à Perpignan, et que l'on certifie qui a guéri radicalement six paralytiques par le moyen de l'électricité. Les Magistrats l'ayant adressé à la faculté de Médecine pour constater le succès des nouvelles expériences qu'il devoit faire icy, elle nomme à cet [*torn*] membres du nombre des quels je suis. il a commencé à élec[triser trois] malades depuis 15 jours, le 1^{er} des trois s'en trouve très bien et les progrès sont considérables d'un jour à l'autre. les 2 autres n'ont qu'à s'en louer jusqu'icy mais les progrès sont lents. nous dressons chaque jour une espèce de procès verbal dont je vous ferai part à la fin, au moins si cela tourne bien. il ne leur fait recevoir aucune sorte de commotion, il se contente de leur faire recevoir la matière électrique par le moyen d'une chaîne de fer attachée au côté sain. il joint à cela avec un air de mystère quelques petits secours

¹ See *Writings* (Smyth), v. 152, where Franklin errs in the date of Barbeau-Dubourg's letter.

² A fragment without date. If the opening paragraph refers to Abbé Sans' first appearance in Paris that would fix the year in 1770. The volume by Sans, *Guérison de la paralysie par l'électricité*, was published by Cailleau, Paris, 1772.

appropriés au mal. au reste il paroît plutôt un bon homme qu'un génie transcendant. il vous honore sur votre renommée, et connoît peu vos [torn] mais il va se mettre à les étudier.

Un jeune homme de mérite et de talent peu communs m'a prié de vous consulter sur l'Amérique et sur peu honneur rendu à Newton. je prens la liberté de joindre icy sa petite note et vous répons qu'il ne fera point mauvais usage de vos instructions, c'est un poète philosophe qui à autant de goût que de feu.

[torn] envoyer par la 1^e occasion les nouveaux volumes des [Ephémérid]es du citoyen, mais il ne m'est pas possible de les insérer dans ce paquet. je tâcherai d'y joindre quelques autres nouveautés, s'il y en a qui en vaillent la peine.

Le paquet déposé chez MM. Dilly de la part de M. Rush ne m'est point encore parvenu. j'espère cependant pourvoir l'en faire bientôt retirer par un ami, car j'ai grande impatience de le voir.

Quant au lettres et petits paquets comme celui-icy, on m'a assuré que nous pouvions moyennant l'adresse cy jointe ne vous en pas gêner de part et d'autre, quelque fréquente que dût être notre correspondance; c'est à mon confrère M. Poissonier que j'ai cette obligation, et il me flatte même que nous pourrions continuer ainsi d'un hémisphère à l'autre, [avec] la même franchise.

J'ai mille complimens à vous faire de tous ceux qui ont eu l'honneur de vous connoître icy, pour moi je ne vous en offre que pour M^r Pringle, votre digne et respectable ami, qui j'honore de toute mon âme. S'il m'eût possible de passer dans votre isle, j'aurois eu bien à cœur d'être présenté de votre main à M^r Maty dont vous me faits l'honneur de me parler, regrettant bien de n'avoir pas eu le plaisir de le voir lorsqu'il est venu en France.

Je suis avec un sincère et respectueux attachement, Monsieur et cher Ami, Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur.

A PARIS ce 25^e 9^{bre} 1770.

Monsieur et cher Ami: — J'ai reçu d'abord deux, puis cinq exemplaires de la traduction que vous avez daigné faire faire de mon petit Code, et je ne puis assez vous en remercier. il est si bien rendu en Anglois qu'on auroit pu facilement en faire passer la version pour un original, et il est imprimé tout au mieux. [Il y a une fa]ute bien remarquable mais sans conséquence. c'est à la page 7^e où il [illegible] fi pour *second*, c'est à dire douzième pour deuxième. Je suis très flatté du suffrage de vos dignes amis, un petit nombre de personnes icy l'ont également goûté,

mais en général il n'y a pas fait une grande sensation. cela de n'avoir pas eu le plaisir de le voir lorsqu'il est venu en France. viendra peut-être, et puisqu'on veut m'honorer d'une 2^e édition à Londres, je crois que j'en risquerai une aussi à Paris, l'encouragement que vous m'avez donné m'ayant fait faire de nouveaux efforts pour l'améliorer autant qu'il est en moi. je l'ai presque tout refondu et étendu de 33 articles jusqu'à 51, comme vous verrez par la copie que j'ai l'honneur de vous envoyer cy-jointe, et que je sou mets à votre révision.

Si ma respectable Traductrice ne dédaigne pas de s'amuser à faire passer cette addition en votre langue, je vous serai fort obligé de vouloir m'en envoyer quelques exemplaires comme de la 1^e édition. et si j'osois vous prier d'en faire remettre aussi un à Mademoiselle Pitt, sœur du Comte de Chatain, et qui est où a été Bournère de la Princesse de Galles. cette Demoiselle m'a honoré de ses bontés et de sa confiance, surtout lors de son dernier séjour en France, et j'en ai encore eu des témoignages signales depuis son retour en Angleterre; mais j'ai été si confus d'une lettre très m[auss]ade qu'on me poussa à lui écrire vers le commencement de la dernière guerre que je n'ai plus osé cultiver une connoissance si précieuse à tant de titres. je ne sais si vous la connoissez personnellement, mais je doute fort que son frère puisse avoir plus d'esprit.

A l'égard de mes recherches sur nos Paris et nos Magistrats, comme on auroit eu de la peine à en faire entrer l'édition de chez vous icy, je l'ai envoyée en endroit où les difficultés seront moindres, quoique trop grandes encore; et cela après avoir vainement sollicité la permission de le faire imprimer icy. je ne vous importunerai donc point à ce sujet, je vous prierai seulement d'en agréer un exemplaire.

Mais je me reserve à mettre votre bienveillance à une autre épreuve. j'ai travaillé à des momens perdus à un digeste de l'humanité, ou commentaire du Code, sous le nom de M. Tone de Philadelphie, il sera écrit un peu plus longuement et plus negligemment, mais j'espère qu'il pourra encore intéresser par l'ordre et le développement des matières, et j'ai bien à cœur de pouvoir vous l'envoyer avant votre départ dont le seule pensée me fait frémir, et gémir de ne pouvoir vous suivre en un pays, où, grâce à vous principalement, on a bientôt secoué tous les préjugés de notre vieil hémisphère, et où nos Neveux pourroient bien voir un jour le siège de l'empire Britannique et le foyer de la raison universelle.

Sans vanité, je vous dirai par occasion qu'il y a icy 2 ou 3 sorbonistes qui me traitent souvent de demi Quaker, quoique je

rende le pain béni à mon tour que je tapisse le devant de ma porte à la fête Dieu, et que j'ôte mon chapeau presque à tous prêtres et moines.

On nous flatte que nous n'aurons pointe de guerre avec vous. je vous proteste que j'en suis fort aise. Louis 14 reconnu en mourant qu'il avoit trop aimé la guerre, pour moi, si peu qu'on l'aime, je trouve toujours que c'est trop.

Je vous rends grâces du bon accueil que vous avez fait à notre ami M. Frey, il n'a pas repassé par Paris, mais il m'a donné de ses nouvelles. et il regrette beaucoup de n'avoir pu séjourner plus longtems à Londres; et moi je suis desolé de ne pouvoir pas y faire le moindre voyage, soyez sûr qu'il faut que les entraves qui me retiennent soient bien fortes après votre gracieuse invitation à me procurer la facilité de loger à portée de vous, et de jouer à toute heure d'un commerce dont je sens tout le prix. ma femme vous assure qu'il ne seroit pas moins délicieux pour elle, quoiqu'elle ait bien de la peine à revenir de l'éloigner qu'on lui a inspiré pour tout ce qui est retranché de la s[ainte] communion Romaine.

Après de cela, nous avons en France une petite innovation qui puis s'étendre loin; c'est la liberté de conscience dans une villotte naissante. je crois qu'on en est redevable au Duc de Choiseul, il ne sera pas toujours en place, mais si comme je l'espère, on se trouve bien de cet essaye et que la raison continue à faire des progrès, cet arrangement sera difficile à renverser, grands et petits réclameraient de toutes leurs forces. je joins icy un extrait de lettre à ce sujet.

A PARIS e 27^e May, 1771.

Monsieur, oserois-je encore ajouter, et cher Ami?

Il y a bientôt huit mois que vous ne m'avez honoré de vos nouvelles. je cherche à me flatter que ce n'est que faute d'occasions; mais je crains de me faire illusion à cet égard. attendu le grand nombre d'Anglois qui viennent successivement en France, aurois-je eu le malheur de vous déplaire en quelque chose? tandis qu'il n'y a personne au monde de qui j'ambitionne davantage l'estime et l'affection. j'avoue que de mon côté, il y a aussi 5 à 6 mois que je ne vous ai donné le moindre signe de vie et d'attachement, mais vous savez quelle est ma position, mon quartier écarté, et d'ailleurs mes compatriotes voyagent beaucoup moins que les vôtres. repartirez-vous donc pour l'Amérique sans nous dire le plus petit adieu? ne conserverez-vous au delà des mers aucun souvenir de quelque'un qui vous est si attaché, qui regarde comme le vrai

paradis terrestre le climat que vous choisissez pour votre séjour, où vous avez provigné toutes les sciences et toutes les vertus, et où il se transplanteroit volontiers s'il étoit plus jeune, pour y recevoir de vous des leçons dans tous les genres sur les rives du Skuilkil et de la Delaware.

Les volumes des Ephémérides du citoyen¹ longtems retardés par les entraves ordinaire de la librairie de ce pays cy, ont reparu près à près, et en voila 9 depuis 5 mois, dont je vous adresse à la fois un exemplaire pour M. Rush, independamment du votre. ce qui fait 18 volumes en tout. on nous fait espérer que les autres se succéderont rapidement, et j'ai renouvelé votre souscription à cet effet.

Je comptois pouvoir vous envoyer par le même occasion mon Manuel de l'humanité que l'on m'a arrêté pendant plusieurs mois, et qui doit enfin être actuellement imprimé à Bouillon; je l'ai étendu jusqu'à 92 articles, et j'ose me flatter que vous le trouverez bien amélioré; j'y entame les plus grandes questions de la politique, et peutêtre trouverez-vous que je les envisage sous des points de vue que l'on n'avait pas encore présentés au public, au moins puis-je vous assurer que je n'ai copié personne en cela. j'espérois également vous envoyer un exemplaire de mon petit ouvrage sur la pairie; mais après m'avoir longtems et très indignement baloté à ce sujet, on m'envoya enfin hier une brochure qu'on me marquoit être cela, et où je n'en ai reconnu qu'environ moitié, encadrée dans une espèce de factum sur l'affaire personnelle d'un homme en place. j'ai recriminé contre cet abus de confiance, mais je n'ai encore osé pousser de hauts cris de peur qu'après avoir défiguré l'ouvrage on ne se porte jusqu'à en maltraiter également l'auteur. car sur quoi peut on compter sous un gouvernement tel que le notre?

Encore puis-je vous assurer que je redoute le changement dont ce gouvernement même semble aujourd'huy menacé. il semble à nos Robins que le Roi et le peuple ne soient faits que pour eux; qu'avec des mots vagues de loix alléguées en gros et sans aucunes citations expresses, il doivent decider souverainement de tout, et leur joug seroit bientôt devenu plus insupportable, que celui du plus fier despote. que resultera-t-il donc la tout cecy? c'est ce qu'il ne me paroît pas facile de préjuger.

Le Chancelier pousse vigoureusement les Parlementaires qui se défendent pitoyablement; mais les esprits sont si universellement indisposés que depuis les Princes du sang jusqu'aux pois-

¹ This periodical ran from 1767 to 1772, and was edited first by Nicholas Baudeau and Victor de Riquetti, Marquis de Mirabeau, and after May, 1768, by Pierre Samuel Du Pont.

sardes des halles, tout devient frondeur pendant ce tems là, la déprédation des finances est à son comble, et comment le Roi se passera-t-il d'augmenter le charge publique, ou sur quoi mettra-t-il de nouveaux impôts, et que ne risqueroit-il pas dans une si grande fermentation des esprits, sur lesquels on diroit qu'un vent Britannique auroit soufflé d'un bout à l'autre du royaume? Louis 14 fit en 1667 une célèbre ordonnance qui défendoit à ses parlemens de faire aucune remontrance sur ses loix qu'après avoir enregistrées, et cette ordonnance fut parvenu enregistré purement simplement et sans aucune réclamation. Louis 17 par l'édit de décembre dernier permet les remontrances avoir l'enregistrement, pourvu qu'il s'ensuive pas une resistance sans fin; les robins crient que c'est renverser toutes les lois et tout le monde le répète sur leur parole. voila d'où nous on sommes.

Les Anglois sont-ils plus sages? j'en doute; mais j'espère pour l'honneur du genre humain que vous empêcherez par votre profonde sagesse et votre heureuse influence que la contagion [*incomplete*]

PARIS, 31^e May, 1772.

Monsieur: — Nous avons icy beaucoup de mauvais Catholiques qui parcequ'ils ont manqué une année à faire leurs paques, n'osent plus jamais retourner à confesse. Je ne perds pas courage si aisément, ou je vous suis plus attaché qu'ils ne le sont au St. Siège. Un morne silence de deux ans m'a sensiblement affligé, mais ne m'empêchera pas de profiter de l'occasion de Mm. Sutton et de toutes celles qui se présenteront pour me renouveler dans l'honneur de votre souvenir, et vous protester de mon dévouement inaltérable et à toute épreuve. D'ailleurs M^{elle} Biheron ne m'a point laissé ignorer les bontés que vous avez eues pour elle, et dont je ne vous dois pas moins de reconnoissance que si elles seroient épanchées directement sur moi même, et la mention gracieux que vous avez daigné faire de moi je n'en suis point ingrat, et tout ce qui part de vous pénètre jusqu'au plus profond de mon cœur.

J'ai vu dernièrement M. Le Roy qui n'a point du tout avancé le remaniement de la traduction de vos ouvrages, pour moi j'aurois craint de les ternir en y portant une main trop maussade, mais au défaut de la sienne, je suis bien tenté de l'entreprendre, mon zèle suppléera en partie à ma foiblesse; si vous m'honorez de votre aveu, comme vous m'en aviez flatté, faites moi la grâce de m'adresser ce que vous pourriez avoir de nouveau à y joindre, et si vous jugez à propos, je ferai encore repasse le tout sous vos yeux avant de le livrer à nos libraires.

J'avois bien étendu mon petit Code de l'Humanité, mais on m'a refusé l'approbation nécessaire pour le faire imprimer icy. J'y ai eu grand regret, car j'en étois bien plus content que le 1^e. fois; mais que faire?

Je vous ai adressé le volumes des ephémérides du citoyen à mesure qu'ils ont paru, et que j'ai trouvé moyen de vous les faire passer. peutêtre vous en manque-t-il quelques ans, en ce cas je suis prêt à y suppléer au 1^{er} avis. mais vous devez savoir que cet ouvrage est toujours fort en retard par le gêne de la presse en ce bon pays cy, où l'on voudroit que tout fût bien, et où l'on craint jusqu'à l'ombre du mal. Adieu, Monsieur et toujours cher Ami, ma femme vous embrasse et vous baise de tout son cœur; et voudroit bien vous tenir avec M^r Pringle que je vous prie d'assurer de mon respect, et de mon dévouement.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec des sentimens uniques, Monsieur, votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur.

DUBOURG.

PARIS ce 9^e 8^b. 1772.

Monsieur et cher Ami: — J'arrive de la campagne où j'ai passé deux jours, et j'ai enfin trouvé à mon arrivée le manuscrit de la traduction de vos œuvres par M. Lesqui (le premontré) qu'il avoit depuis si longtems égarée, et pour quoi je l'avois beaucoup harcelé surtout depuis une quinzaine de jours. En conséquence, vous pouvez compter que je vois dès aujourd'huy me mettre à l'ouvrage, et ne le quitterai point que je ne l'aye terminé autant bien que je le pourrai faire, soit que je puisse tirer plus ou moins de parti de ce qui en fait, soit qu'il me faille recommencer tout à neuf. J'ai pris à cette intention un jeune homme pour écrire sous ma dictée, afin d'accélérer d'autant; et je vous ferai passer ma besogne lettre à lettre, à mesure que j'avancerai.

Il me paroît que vous avez éprouvé beaucoup plus de difficultés qu'il n'étoit naturel de prévoir pour faire imprimer avec exactitude mon petit Code en français à Londres, et moi de mon côté j'ai découvert qu'il m'auroit été plus facile que ne l'espérois de le faire imprimer en France, clandestinement à la vérité, mais qu'importe? si donc les mêmes difficultés subsistent chez vous, je vous supplie de me renvoyer mon manuscrit par la 1^{er} occasion (car je n'en ai point conservé de copie) et on me le fera imprimer secrètement à Caen. J'ai l'honneur de vous envoyer cy joint le nouveau volume des Ephémérides du Citoyen, qui est appelé le 3^e de la 6^e année, parceque les auteurs se sont

trop laissé arriérer pour ne pas rougir d'intituler volume de mars celui qu'ils donnent à la fin de 7^{bre} ou au commencement d'octobre; quoique ce retard ne vienne pas de leur faute, mais plutôt des tracasseries qu'ils ont éprouvées de notre gouvernement peu commode à son ordinaire.

Mlle. Biheron s'est non seulement occupée de la commission de Madame Stevenson, mais ell'a consulté sur cela les personnes les plus au fait et du meilleur goût; ainsi j'espère que la commission sera bien faite quoiqu'en s'écartant un peu des termes de la commettante; Mlle. Biheron est pourtant bien aise de l'en prévenir. elle me charge de vous assurer de ses civilités, et de toute la reconnaissance qu'elle conservera toujours de vos bontés.

Ma femme, qui me détourne souvent de toute autre sorte de travail que je voudrais entreprendre, est, et sera toujours la 1^{ere} à m'aiguillonner à celui peut vous faire plaisir, et contribuer à répandre votre gloire. elle me charge de vous fair mille amitiés pour elle.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec un inviolable attachement, Monsieur et cher Ami, votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur

DUBOURG.

Mes respectueux complimens à M. Pringle.

A PARIS ce 28^e 8^{bre} 1772.

Monsieur et cher Ami: — Je travaille autant qu'il est en moi à remplir mes engagements, en refondant en entier la traduction de vos excellens ouvrages; mais je sens trop ce qui me manque pour espérer de rendre la copie digne de l'original. Trouvez bon qui je vous demande quelques éclaircissemens à mesure qui j'avancerai.

Je ne trouve point dans le dictionnaire le mot *orreries* page 34. je conjecture qu'il signifie *cadrans*.

non plus que les mots *surf* and *spray*, page 41, que je ne devine pas, et qui m'arrêtent.

ni *jostled*, page 47, qui cependant m'embarrasse moins.

Votre expérience avec la fumée de résine pour rendre visible l'athmosphère électrique me satisfait beaucoup. en avez-vous tiré le parti que vous auriez pu? je m'en rapporte à vous.

Je voudrais savoir ce qu'entend le D^r. . . par *my old theme*, et par *your Doctrine of the Origin*, &c

Les expériences sur le froid produit par les corps évaporables ne vous engagera-t-il point à en faire quelques unes sur le chaud produit par les corps *déliquescons*, c'est à dire qui attirent l'hu-

midité de l'air et s'y liquent, comme l'alkali fixe du tartre, d'où provient l'huile de tartre par défaillance? (*per deliquium*). Par rapport à l'électricité médicale, les expériences de l'Abbé Sans, (il y a deux ans) n'eurent pas les grands succès qu'il en promettoit. je vous envoie cy joint le détail d'une autre expérience assez singulière, que suit un simple artiste; à qui j'ai donné une petite consultation à ce sujet, où vous verrez une idée peu commune que j'avois depuis longtems sur l'épilepsie.

Je reviens à vos lettres sur les refroidissemens, page 347. est-il bien exact de dire que le ver à soye est vêtu de sa soye dans son état d'embryon? le changement du ver en chrysalide se fait dans le coucou de soye, mais le véritable état d'embryon est, à mon avis, dans l'oeuf, avant que le ver en éclore.

Ne manque-t-il pas à votre quarré magique de 8, de faire par ses diagonales 260. je me suis amusé à en faire un qui remplit toutes vos conditions et quelques autres difficultés de plus, comme de pouvoir en transposer des moitiés, ou des quartiers sans y causer aucun préjudice et qui de tous les sens fait toujours 11000. en l'honneur des 11000 vierges de nos légendes. Dans votre quarré magique de 16, il y a au moins un nombre répété (241) et au moins une ligne factive qui est la 1^e comme je m'en suis tenu à cette très légère inspection que le hasard m'a procuré, je désirerois que vous revoyiez s'il n'y en auroit pas d'autres.

Coals page 362, est à ce qu'il me semble ce que nous appellons du charbon de terre, mais nous le regardons comme un fossile d'origine végétale, et non de la 1^e antiquité de notre globe. faites y attention. Avez-vous répété votre jolie expérience sur le mouvement des liqueurs avec 3 liquides de pesanteurs différentes et de couleurs assez distinctes, comme l'huile de goyac, l'eau et l'huile commune? comme j'avois eu l'honneur de vous le proposer?

Ne vous sembleroit-il pas intéressant de chercher à déterminer le *maximum* et le *minimum* des rapports de la profondeur des canaux navigables aux bateaux qu'ils doivent porter?

Je n'ai point trouvé dans le dictionnaire le mot *track-schuyt* page 492.

Mais voilà assez de questions à la fois. Si vous pouvez vous faire à mes importunités, elles seront suivies de beaucoup d'autres.

Voulez vous que je vous envoie quelques cayers traduits, avant d'aller plus loin? ils peuvent bien faire actuellement la 8^e partie du total. Je vous en ferai passer au moins quelques uns par Mlle. Biheron, si elle retourne à Londres vers la fin du moins prochaine, comme elle s'y dispose; mais je crains 1^o pour sa santé qui n'est pas encore trop bonne. 2^o pour ses frais que ne

sauvoient manquer d'être grands, et qu'elle ne retirera peut-être pas encore. au nom de Dieu, si vous ne voyez pas jour à un meilleur succès de ce voyage que du précédent, faites moi la grâce de me le dire entre nous, j'insisterois sur des motifs de santé pour la retenir.

Je vais songer aussi à faire regraver les planches nécessaires pour l'édition prochaine; ainsi je vous prie 1° de revoir le grand quarré magique, pour le rendre absolument correct; 2° de songer si vous n'auriez pas quelques nouvelles figures à ajouter aux planches, et de m'en faire part sans delay. il faut faire en sorte que vous puissiez emporter avec vous, quand notre Europe vous rependra, une paquette de la traduction complète de vos ouvrages.

Par rapport à mon petit Code de la Raison, je m'en tiens à ce que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous marquer par ma dernière. si vous trouvez trop d'embarras à le faire imprimer en françois à Londres, faites moi la grâce de me le renvoyer; je pourrai le faire imprimer secrètement en province.

Ma femme, et ses voisins et tous vos amis et amies de ma connoissance m'ont chargé de mille amitiés pour vous sans oublier votre digne ami M. Pringle. J'ai l'honneur, etc.

A PARIS ce 28^e 9^{bre} 1772.

Monsieur et très cher Ami: — J'ai reçu la lettre dont vous m'avez honoré en date du 12^e 9^{bre} avec un ps. du 16.

Je suis au moins à la moitié de ma traduction de votre in 4° et j'espère l'achever sur la fin de l'année, ou dans les commencement de l'autre. *non laboratur ubi amatur*, disoit St. Augustin.

Vous ne sauriez douter que je ne reçoive avec plaisir, que je n'attende même avec impatience le supplément que vous m'annoncez, vos nouvelles expériences sur les verges foudroyables, et vos instructions pour diriger les faiseurs d'expériences sur l'anguille de Surinam, sur la torpille, &c. vous sentez bien aussi que je ne serois pas fâché de recevoir quelque exemplaire de mon petit Code imprimé sous vos heureux et glorieux auspices; mais je voudrois bien tâcher d'éviter les frais énormes de la poste. votre dernière lettre m'a été taxée à cents sols; que seroit-ce d'un paquet un peu fort? S'il ne se rencontre point d'occasion favorable (comme il y en a peu de ce genre) vous pourriez, s'il y a des messageries en Angleterre comme en France, m'envoyer par cette voye (tant soit peu plus lente, mais beaucoup moins coûteuse) tous les paquets un peu gros, mais non

pas deux exemplaires à la fois d'un même ouvrages quelconque, parceque les visites tant à la douane qu'à la chambre de la Librairie de Paris entraineront des tracasseries et des vexations désolantes.

En attendant je vous prie de vouloir m'adresser un exemplaire du petit Code sous une 1^e enveloppe à mon adresse, cette enveloppe simplement arrêtée avec un peu de cire d'Espagne (sans cachet) puis une 2^e enveloppe (pareillement arrêtée avec un peu de cire sans cachet) avec cette souscription *pour la gazette de France* et enfin une 3^e enveloppe cachetée et adressée à Monseigneur, Monseigneur le Chancelier de France, à Versailles. Non seulement, j'espère que cet exemplaire pourra me parvenir par ce moyen, franc de port; mais si vous aviez par hasard quelques papiers publics d'Amérique qui vous fussent devenus inutiles, ou quelques autres paperasses imprimées sur la politique, sur le commerce, sur les arts, &c., &c., pas trop vieilles, du même pays surtout, mais aussi d'Angleterre, au défaut des autres, dont vous voulussiez bien glisser de tems en tems une pièce sous les mêmes enveloppes pour l'auteur de la gazette de France, vous pourriez me faire passer en même tems par cette voye, autants de petits paquets qu'il vous plairoit; chaque paquet pour moi de 4 à 5 feuilles au plus sous la 1^e enveloppe intérieure, quelque feuille, demi feuille (ou feuille complet dans certain cas) sous la 2^e enveloppe pour la gazette, et le tout toujours recouverte d'une 3^e enveloppe extérieure à M. Le Chancelier. et cela pourroit se répéter une ou 2 fois par semaine, au besoin. je vous prie aussi d'en vouloir adresser un exemplaire sous une 1^e enveloppe à Madame la Duchesse de Fitzjames, cette 1^e arrêtée avec de la cire sans cachet, et recouverte d'une 2^e enveloppe adressée à Monseigneur, Monseigneur le Duc d'Aiguillon, Pair de France, Ministre d'Etat, à Versailles.

Enfin je vous prie aussi d'adresser d'abord la 1^e feuille seulement d'un exemplaire du même code à Son Altesse Serenissime Madame La Duchesse de Chartres, au Palais royal, à Paris, et garder le reste de ces exemplaires pour quand vous aurez de mes nouvelles à ce sujet.

Me. La D^{se} de Fitzjames [*torn*] de me rapporter quelques torpilles vivantes de l[*torn*] où elle est actuellement; mais je crains bien [*torn*] mortes.

Voicy comment j'ai traduit *and the silk by which the silk-worm, in its tender embrio state, is first cloathed, et la soye qui a été donnée à un insecte délicat, pour passer son état critique.* j'ai préférà desseins le mot d'*insecte* à celui de ver, par la raison

qu'un ver proprement dit n'ayant point de membres distincts et n'étant point sujet à diverses métamorphoses, c'est abusivement que la chenille qui file la soye est appelée ver à soye. en écrivant cecy, je me ravise; il me semble qu'il vaudra mieux mettre *une chenille délicate*.

Je vous envoie cy joint mon quarré magique des 11000 vierges, puisque vous êtes curieux de la voir. en même tems je prens la liberté de vous représenter que vos diagonales coupées ne doivent point vous dispenser des diagonales entières plus simples, et plus à portée de tout le monde. j'ai vérifié en entier votre quarré magique de 16, et je n'y ai trouvé que les 2 seules et mêmes fautes que le hazard m'avoit fait rencontrer au 1^{er} coup d'œil, par une singularité qui m'étonne encore.¹

J'ajouterai en note dessous [*torn*] votre texte dans la lettre sur les couches de terre ce que vous [*torn*] de votre descente dans les mines de charbon fossile de White[haven]² [*incomplete*.]

[Late in 1772 or early in 1773 ?]³

Lorsque Mlle. Biheron sera un peu reposer, je vous prie de lui dire qu'elle me feroit grand plaisir et encore plus à un de nos amis, si elle vouloit bien nous faire l'emplette à Londres de bonne eau de menthe poivrée (*peper menth water*) au moins une douzaine de bouteilles de pintes mesure, de Paris, en grandes ou petites bouteilles, mais par préférence en petites bouteilles, et plustôt encore 24 pintes que 12 d'en faire 2 ou 4 ballots bien emballés, et de me les adresser par les voitures publiques avec les précautions d'usage, un seul ballot à la fois, mais tous successivement de semaine en semaine.

S'il y avoit moyen d'envelopper chacune de ces bouteilles d'une feuille de vos notes et matéreaux divers, ou d'une feuille de mon petit Code, cela feroit bien mon affaire. mais en ce cas, il faudroit 1^o que cela fut si bien emmailloté que ces feuilles ne fussent pas excessivement gâtées, 2^o qu'elle eut attention à n'y employer dans chaque ballot que des exemplaires de la même feuille du Code pour toutes les bouteilles ou tout au plus que des exemplaires, de 2 feuilles, par exemple d'abord de la 1^{re} et de la 3^e et l'ordinaire suivant des exemplaires de la 2^e et de 4^e afin que si on fouilloit avec le plus grand soin, comme il faut s'y attendre, cela n'eut l'air que de feuilles de rebut, et qu'on ne fût pas se

¹ *Writings* (Smyth), v. 464.

² *Writings* (Smyth), v. 409, 552, the second reference being the "text" of Franklin's letter.

³ Written while Mademoiselle Biheron was in London.

douter que l'on pourroit icy les rassembler successivement et en refaire à deux tems des exemplaires complets. que pensez-vous de cette idée?

Au reste si cette eau, *peper menth water*, est un peu chère à Londres, fut-ce à 6¹¹ argent de France la pinte de France, cela ne doit arrêter Mlle. Biheron; on lui en tiendra un fidèle compte.

Mais il est tems de finir cette *longissime* lettre. Ma femme vous embrasse de tout son cœur, et je ne suis point jaloux. J'ai l'honneur, etc.

Mes respectueuses civilités à M^r Pringle.

[early in 1773]

Monsieur et cher Ami: — Je n'ai encore reçu ni votre paq[uet *torn*] du 8^e. je vous prie de me marque[*torn*] ferez l'honneur de m'écrire par la [*torn*] vous étiez servi pour les [*torn*] voyageans, je pourrais pour peu qu[*torn*] découvrir icy dans les hôtels garnis [*torn*] et si ce sont françois domiciliés à Paris cela seroit encore plus simples, mais guères plus sûr.

Si vous ne trouviez point d'inconvénient à communiquer au public l'explication que Miss S[tevenso]n a proposée de la chaleur que l'eau de Bristoll aquert par l'action de la pompe, je pense que cela ne pourroit que faire plaisir au public. J'ose encore mieux vous repondre qu'on seroit fort aise de sçavoir comment vous rendez raison de ce que le [*torn*] des rhumes, et que le linge [*torn*] n'en causent pas. si vous ne [*torn*] publier encore l'explication, je vous [*torn*] communiquer pour mon instruction.

[*torn*] noircir les murs des espaliers à fruits [*torn*] nous fait exécuter, ou vu exécuté quelque [*torn*] il peut y avoir du pour et du contre. les [*torn*] issent plus de chaleur sur les fruits pendant le jour, et peuvent conséquemment contribuer à avancer leur accroissement, et assurer leur parfaite maturité dans les climats un peu froids. êtes vous bien certain (même avant l'expérience) que ce que les murs noircis pourront leur rendre pendant la nuit de leur réserve du jour, compensera avec surabondance ce qu'ils leur en auront absorbé de plus que les murs blancs ordinaires?

dans votre dernière lettre du 26^e-30^e x^{bre} vous avez la bonté de m'expliquer le mot chain en ces termes *a surveyor's chain meant here, is four p[oles or 66 feet torn]*¹ des arpenteurs est de 4 perches [*torn*] est donc de 16 pieds et demi [*torn*] com-

¹ *Writings* (Smyth), v. 464.

mode pour l'usage, je soupçon [torn] par mégarde un chiffre pour l'a[torn] la perche varie un peu d'une pr[torn] royale est de 22 pieds, ainsi 66 pieds [torn] je demande donc si vous n'auriez pas [torn] 4 perches pour 3, ou 66 pieds pour [torn] En examinant l'appareil électrique de M. [torn]¹ expérience de Marly la ville (tant la description que la figure) il me semble qu'il n'avoit pas bien pris ses précautions pour la sûreté de son ami Coiffier, et que si le tonnerre eût été très fort, il auroit bien pu éprouver le même sort que M. Richman,² puisque le verge de fer n'avoit point de communication établis avec la terre, et portoit au contraire sur une planche isolée par des bouteilles. qu'en pensez-vous?

Permettez moi de vous adresser le petit memoire cy joint de M. Missa mon Confrère, qui vous seroit fort obligé si vous pouviez sans [torn] procurer quelques éclaircissemens [torn hum]ani à te alienum putas. [torn] Madle Biheron depuis bien du [torn beau]coup d'inquiétude sur sa santé. Si [torn] ne lui est pas favorable, faites la [torn] sa santé n'est point mauvaise. [torn] igeance, qui nous afflige tous, et [torn] Basseporte malade.

[torn] votre portrait fort à cœur, il se flatte que s'il avoit eu le bonheur de vous voir dans un de vos précédens voyages; il auroit fait quelque chose de mieux que ce que je lui ai donné à copier et réduire. et il se propose de profiter de l'occasion que vous nous faites espérer l'été prochain pour le refaire à neuf. J'ai l'honneur, etc.

A PARIS ce 24^e f.^r 1773.

Monsieur et très cher Ami: — L'impression avança bien la semaine dernière, j'eus chaque jour une feuille nouvelle (à corriger les épreuves) le carnaval est cause que cette semaine-cy ne m'a encore rien produit, mais j'espère que cela va reprendre le même train sans interruption.

Je vous envoyai, il y a aujourd'hui 8 jours sous une simple envelope deux feuilles sortantes de la presse. je comptois les mettre entre les mains de M^r Fowke et de M^r Davies qui m'avoient fait l'honneur de passer icy la veille, mais j'arrivai à leur hôtel deux minutes trop tard, ayant rencontré leur chaise de poste à 100 pas en deça.

Je vous en envoie cy jointes 44 nouvelles dans lesquelles j'ai trouvé 2 fautes échappées (à mettre en *errata*) aux pages 58, et 68.

¹ Probably Dalibard.

² Georges-Guillaume Richmann, a Swedish physicist, born at Pernau, 1711, and killed at St. Petersburg, 1753.

Ne pensez-vous pas que pour changer les poles de l'aiguille aimantée, un coup d'électricité positive appliqué au pole du sud ou un d'électricité negative appliqué au pole du nord, doivent produire le même effet, pourvu qu'ils soient l'un et l'autre suffisamment forts?

Ne pensez-vous pas que l'on pourroit aimer par le moyen de l'électricité, non de simples aiguilles, mais jusqu'à barres de fer? et n'espéreriez-vous pas qu'on pourroit par ce moyen se procurer des aimants artificiels d'une force supérieure à tous ceux que l'on a eus jusqu'à présent, puis qu'il n'y a point de bornes à la force qu'il est possible de donner à l'électricité?

Ne jugeriez-vous pas à propos de communiquer au public, la construction du petit appareil électrique portatif que vous vous êtes fait?

Je vous supplie de me dire encore les différentes formes de machines électriques, qu'elle est celle que vous jugez la plus simple et la meilleure et de l'usage le plus commode et le moins fatigant, tant à l'égard des roues et de leur monture, et de la disposition du coussin et du conducteur, qu'à l'égard des verres en plateau, ou en globe, &c. M^r Dalibard, qui m'a chargé de vous faire bien des complimens, a par lui même un moyen aisé de me procurer la franchise des lettres et paquet depuis la frontière, ou le port de mer, jusqu'à Paris. je joins icy l'instruction qu'il m'a donné à ce sujet. je vous prie d'en faire usage pour m'envoyer, une ou plusieurs feuilles à la fois (4 à 5 à la fois) de votre nouvelle édition, ainsi que la brochure de M^r Du Pont (de qui j'ai aussi mille complimens à vous faire aussi bien que de M. Le Marquis de Mirabeau) je crois qu'il sera nécessaire d'affranchir les ports de ces paquets jusqu'à Douvres. je vous prie de vous en assurer, et en ce cas de vouloir bien en faire pour moi les avances, dont je vous tiendrai un fidèle compte, ou pour le mieux que je vous prie et prierai Mlle. Biheron de vous rembourser immédiatement. J'ai l'honneur, etc.

Ma femme vous embrasse de toute son âme, et est pénétrée comme moi de la plus vive reconnaissance de toutes vos bontés pour votre bonne amie, Mlle. Biheron.

M. Dalibard avoit un tableau magique très bon, et une grande cucurbite dont il s'étoit fait une bonne bouteille de Leyde. l'un et l'autre sont devenus tout à fait conducteurs. il en a trouvé la raison sensible dans l'altération de la colle qui avoit servi à faire tenir l'étamure, et qui s'est trouvée aigrie et corrompue.

Il seroit à désirer pour les progrès ultérieurs de l'électricité que l'on fit une bonne suite d'expériences sur les verres de différentes natures, c'est à dire, dans lesquels entrent les différentes espèces de fondans tant salins que métalliques en différentes proportions; et sur chacun de ces verres à différens degrés de chaleur.

Dans ce moment il vient de me passer par la tête une idée que vous trouverez peutêtre bien folle. je pourrai cependant vous la communiquer l'ordinaire prochain; mais il faut lui donner moins ce tems là, soit pour mûrer ou pour pourrir.

Nous avons icy le Phytolacca. je me doutois que c'étoit le Pokeweed, mais il y en a au moins 3 espèces quelle est la bonne?

Un de mes Confrères et moi sommes convenus de travailler en société à traduire les Transactions philosophiques Américaines.

Est-il possible, est-il pardonable que je ne vous aye pas encore fait le moindre remerciement pour toutes les peines que vous avez daigné prendre pour l'impression du P[etit] C[ode]? j'ai été si petrifié de la trahison que j'ai éprouvée à l'occasion d'une exemplaire, que j'en ai perdu le sens. Daignez en recevoir mes excuses aussi sincères et humbles que tardives et disproportionnées à la faute. Tâcher aussi, je vous supplie, de me menager la continuation des bontés de Madame Hewson que j'honore de toute mon ame et envers qui je ne m'aquitterai pas facilement; mais je n'y négligerai rien si je puis en trouver l'occasion.

Quant à l'exécution typographique de cette brochure, il est très bien. voyons pourtant.

le frontispice est une page un peu uniforme.

Dans l'épître dédicatoire, les deux Monsieur encore un peu trop ressemblans.

préface, page 1. ligne 12. *son lisez sont.*

page 13. ligne 16. *leur jouissances, lisez leurs.*

page 38. ligne 5. *né, libre,* effacez la virgule.

page 41. ligne 16. *d'engrossir,* séparez ces deux mots *d'en grossir.*

page 52. LA FIN, effacez LA.

Le caractère &c me paraît un trop trop figuré et trop saillant. je ne sais ce que signifie certains chiffres au bas de quelques pages: comme 9. (page 3.) 6. (page 5.) 6. (page 10.) 7. (page 17.) 5. (page 30.) 4. (page 37.) 6. (page 44.)

Au reste les caractères sont beaux, le papier assez beau, les articles bien disposés. en un mot je suis, comme je le dois, pénétré de vos bontés.

On reçut hier une lettre de Mlle. Bihéron par la poste; mais

celles qu'elle a écrit par des occasions sont encore en chemin. Puissiez vous nous la ramener bientôt avec vous. Plût à Dieu. L'heure me presse de finir. je joins icy 9 nouvelles feuilles. J'ai l'honneur, etc.

11^e avril 1773.

A PARIS ce 25^e 9^{bre} 1773.

Mon cher Maitre: — J'ai reçu le paquet que vous avez eu la bonté de m'envoyer par M. Stanley, qui ne m'a point laissé son adresse, et que je n'ai pu savoir d'ailleurs. Ce paquet contenoit les Transactions philosophiques de Philadelphie, la vie de M. Collinson, et les deux dernières pièces que vous avez publiées dans les papiers publics, et j'ai lu le tout avec le plus grand plaisir. j'aime le ton gay avec lequel vous persiflez vos [*a word erased*]; *ridiculum acri fortius et melius magnas plerumque secatur*. j'ai été bien content de la réflexion de M. Collinson sur la vie champêtre et les occupations du jardinage que semblent plus assorties que toute autre avec la probité et la candeur. je me tiens pour averti M^r Otto et Morgan de cultiver des *Corona solis*, pour tirer de l'huile de leurs semences. la machine de M. W. Henry, quoiqu'elle ne paroisse pas décrite assez clairement, m'a paru fort ingénieuse. M. de Réaumur a fait part au public d'une idée assez analogue que M. le Prince de Conti lui avoit suggérée au sujet de ses fours à poulet. Apropos de cela j'attens avec d'autant plus d'impatience la description de votre nouveau poêle que je me propose de reprendre sur la fin du hiver avec un ou deux amis le projet de faire couver des œufs et élever des poulets avec économie sans le secours des poules couveuses. Si vous aviez jamais spéculé sur cela, je vous prie de me faire part de vos réflexions.

S'il y a quelque critique de votre ouvrage, je n'en suis pas encore informé. on en parle très bien de toutes parts; les feuilles périodiques en ont fait les plus grands éloges, cependant de débit n'y répond pas jusqu'icy; il est vrai que le tems des fêtes de la Cour après la saison des vacances est une circonstance très défavorable.

Si j'ai donné mon adresse aux écoles de Médecine, ce n'est pas que j'aye changé de demeure; c'est parceque le Bedeau de la faculté qui y demeure et qui est mon relieur, s'est chargé de tous les détails, et n'avoit pas droit de faire mettre son nom au frontispice. ainsi c'est de ma part un domicile d'élection chez lui, comme il est d'usage commun d'élire domicile chez son pro-

cureur quand on a des procès, afin qu'il soit le 1^{er} instruit des significations qu'on reçoit à ce sujet. quant à la rue, ce n'est pas de la boucherie, mais de la bûcherie, mot dérivé vraisemblablement de bûcher, et celui de bûche, ou busche. et cette rue a pu être ainsi appelée par rapport aux chantiers de bois de chauffage où les bûches sont entassées en grands piles, les quels chantiers sont en très grand nombre de ce même côté de la rivière, mais aujourd'hui un peu plus loin, parce qu'on les repousse successivement à mesure que la ville étend son enceinte.

J'ai été fort aise de faire connoissance avec M. Fromond, mais il a demeuré trop peu de tems icy. je lui ai porté un exemplaire de vos œuvres pour lui et un dont il a bien voulu se charger pour le P. Beccaria. j'en ai envoyé un à la société philosophique de Rotterdam par la voye d'un Chapelain de l'ambassade de Hollande (M. de la Broue) et un à la société royale de Gottingue par le moyen de M. Zanoni. Il faut espérer que M. Pickering ne tardera pas désormais d'arriver avec ceux dont il s'est chargé pour vous de si bonne grâce.

Quelques discussions que j'ai eu à essayer de la part du graveur et de son imprimeur en taille douce m'ont empêché de pouvoir vous envoyer plutôt les 12 portraits que l'on vous demande séparément; mais enfin j'en ai fait tirer un demicent de nouveaux, et je ferai partir demain la douzaine en question avec les six exemplaires que vous désirez aussi de l'ouvrage par les voitures ordinaires tout simplement, sans attendre ni chercher davantage d'occasions, attendu que cela fait un paquet suffisant pour les messageries. je l'ai adressé à Calais à M. Audibert du Pont négociant, qui vous l'expédiera aussitôt pour Londres.¹

M. Dalibard est très content de sa glace, quoique beaucoup plus chère que celles de ce pays-cy. il vous salue et vous remercie.

Lorsque vous me ferez la grâce de m'envoyer quelque chose par la poste à l'avenir, il me parviendra franc de port, si vous voulez prendre la peine de mettre à votre lettre une 1^e enveloppe à mon adresse, et de l'arrêter avec très peu de cire sans cachet; d'ajouter à cette lettre tous les papiers ou brochures qu'il vous plaira, de recouvrir le paquet d'une bande transversale de papier d'un ou deux pouces de large, arrêtée sans cachet avec un peu de cire, avec une suscription à Monsieur Zanony, enfin de recouvrir le tout d'une enveloppe extérieure avec votre cachet, et

¹ This doubtless refers to the portrait of Franklin in the first volume of Barbeau-Dubourg's translation of his *Works*. It was designed and engraved by F. N. Martinet and was based on the painting by Mason Chamberlin.

d'y mettre l'adresse à Monseigneur, Monsieur le Duc d'Aiguillon, Pair de France, et Ministre d'état à Versailles. si le paquet faisoit un trop gros volume, il seroit à propos d'en faire deux envois successifs en le partageant, quoique un paquet de 8 ou 10 feuilles d'impression puisse passer ainsi sans difficulté.

M. le Roy lut le 13^e de ce mois à la rentrée publique de l'Académie des sciences un mémoire sur les conducteurs destinés à préserver les batimens, dont je me serois fait un devoir de vous rendre compte en détail, s'il ne m'avoit dit qu'il vous le communiqueroit. il prétend que M. Wilson n'étoit pas le seul de l'avis des conducteurs sans pointe; en ce cas j'étois dans l'erreur à cet égard.

J'ai vu M. Le Marquis de Courtanvaux,¹ et diné chez lui lundi dernier, où nous bûmes à votre santé. il a une magnifique machine électrique, où je compte essayer quelques expériences dans le courant de la semaine prochaine. je ne manquerai pas de vous rendre compte du succès, s'il en vaut la peine. il y a pourtant apparence que ce ne sera pas immédiatement, parcequ'il pourra être besoin de plusieurs séances, et peutêtre même de divers préparatifs, et que l'on ne fait pas toujours aller les ouvriers aussi vite que l'on voudroit; vous devez le savoir aussi bien ou mieux qu'un autre, d'ailleurs je ne sais peutêtre pas encore bien tout ce que j'aurai à leur demander.

J'espère que l'extrait du vieil Almanac de Pensylvanie ne sera pas seulement applaudi icy, mais qu'il y fera du fruit. Dieu le veuille. Madle. Biheron, Melle. Basseporte et ma femme m'ont chargé de vous faire bien des amitiés. pas une d'elles ne se portent bien; ce sont trois emplâtres, mais qui vous sont bien attachées. J'ai bien peur que cela ne vous conviennent guères.

Pour moi, je me porte bien, grâces à Dieu, et si bien que j'aurois passé la mer pour aller vous trouver cet hiver, si ma femme eût été en un état où je puisse la quitter. Si sa santé se raffermît nous ferons le voyage ensemble l'année prochaine, si elle veut m'en croire. J'ai l'honneur, etc.

Met respectuesues civilités, s'il vous plait, à M. Pringle.

A PARIS ce 29^e X^{bre} 1773.

Monsieur et cher Ami: — Dans le moment que je traçois cette 1^e demie ligne on m'a annoncé une personne envoyée par M. Le Prince de Conti pour me demander si j'avois reçu la description

¹ François-César Le Tellier, Marquis de Courtanvaux and Duc de Doudeauville (1718-1781).

et la figure que vous m'avez promise de votre cheminée, et me prier de lui en faire part aussitôt que je l'aurai. j'ai répondu que vous sauriez incessamment l'intérêt que S. A. S. y prenoit et que dès que j'aurais votre réponse à ce sujet j'aurais l'honneur d'aller lui en rendre compte. bien d'autres moins qualifiés m'en demandent tous les jours des nouvelles.

J'appris hier au soir qu'on avoit ouvert un souscription chez un Notaire pour donner un prix *au meilleur mémoire sur les moyens d'écarter le tonnerre des édifices et des individus*, sur quoi on s'en rapportera au jugement de l'Académie des sciences. reste à savoir si la souscription à peine encore annoncée se remplira facilement. je n'en désespère pourtant pas.

Si vous prenez la peine d'ouvrir l'un des volumes du journal de Médecine que je prens la liberté de vous adresser pour M. Rush, vous verrez le compte qu'on y rend des expériences de Comus sur la platine. peut-être ne savez vous pas qui est ce Comus. c'est un joueur de gobelets fort en vogue sur les boulevards, mais fort distingué dans son espèce, et qui joint d'une considération au dessus de son état.

Vos ouvrages sont de plus en plus goûtés de tout ce qu'il y a de plus capable d'en juger dans ce pays cy et de donner le ton à la longue, mais n'ayant pas la faveur des libraires cela ne gagne pas encore beaucoup dans le public; il faut prendre patience à cet égard. je compte que non seulement tout le monde y viendra, mais que votre patrie en profitera et sera aussi exaltée à votre occasion non seulement en France mais dans toute l'Europe qu'elle y a fait peu de sensation jusqu'à présent. beaucoup de gens commencent à s'en entretenir, et tous avec une sorte de passion favorable. je reçois plus de complimens de ma petite préface que le plus grand ouvrage ne m'en auroit attiré dans toute ma vie. Voilà ce que me vaut de planer à l'ombre de vos ailes. *o, et praesidium, et dulce decus meum.*

Celui qui s'est chargé de la présente, que je ne connois que depuis quelques jours qu'un ami commun me l'a adressé; a conçu le projet et que je souhaite qui lui réussisse, d'aller se faire maître de langue françoise à Londres. il ne me paroît pas encore bien fort sûr l'Anglois, mais on assure qu'il possède supérieurement le talent de l'enseignement qui est une sorte de don spécial de la nature qui n'est pas aussi identifié qu'il sembleroit devoir l'être avec le savoir le plus profond. oserois-je vous demander d'avoir pour lui quelques bontés sans vous compromettre. il a une lettre à vous remettre aussi de la part du M. Le Roy, qui le connoit peut-être depuis plus longtems ou plus à fond, et qui est d'ailleurs plus capable d'en juger.

J'ai des millions de complimens à vous faire de ma femme, de Mlle. Biheron et d'une multitude de gens de tout sexe et de tout état. Mais soyez sûr que personne ne vous est plus sincèrement attaché, ne fait de vœux, plus ardens pour votre conservation et votre prospérité, ne désire plus de vous embrasser cette année pour vous répéter que je suis de toute mon âme Tout à vous.

DUBOURG.

Mes respectueuses civilités, s'il vous plaît, à Monsieur Pringle, que Dieu conserve et bénisse.

Celui qui aura l'honneur de vous remettre cette lettre, Monsieur et cher Ami, est un de mes Confrères distingué par les qualités de l'esprit et du cœur, qui désirant connoître un peu l'Angleterre et spécialement ceux avec qui il y a le plus à apprendre ambitionne surtout l'avantage de vous voir, et m'a témoigné le plus vif empressement sur cela. je vous serai fort obligé de le recevoir avec cette bonté qui vous est naturelle et que personne n'a plus prouvée que moi; et si vous vouliez bien lui procurer un accès favorable auprès du M. Pringle, ce seroit encore une obligation de plus que je partagerois avec lui. Il se nomme Macquart.¹ M. L'Abbé des Prades, grand Vicaire du Diocèse de Dié, et Secrétaire du M. Le Comte d'Artois, avoit fait l'année dernière six vers pour être mis au bas de votre portrait, et avoit chargé quelqu'un de me les remettre qui ne fit pas la commission comm'il l'avoit promis. il m'en a parlé ces jours derniers. Je lui demandai une copie que je joins icy, afin que vous en jugiez. quant à moi, je les trouve beaux, mais je doute que ces mots *enchaina*, *tyrannie*, *héros*, soient les termes les plus propres chacun à sa place respective.² ainsi quand je les aurois eus à tems, je crois que je m'en serois encore tenu à me quatre petits, tout simples qu'ils sont.³

¹ Louis Charles René Macquart (1745-1818).

² The nearest to such an inscription is that beneath an engraving of the Charles Nicolas Cochin (1715-1790) type published "A Paris chez Made. Bergny Mde. d'Estampes de S. A. S. la Princesse Lamballe, rue du Coq S. Honoré A. P. D. R." It reads:

Trop longtemps son génie enchaina la tonnerre,
Vous tyrans, fremissez, il regagne les Cieux.
Il va rendre à la foudre et sa force et ses feux,

¹ Pour punir désormais les crimes de la terre.

³ Under the Martinet plate are the following lines, which may be those of Barbeu-Dubourg:

Il a ravi le feu des Cieux
Il fait fleurir les Arts en des Climats sauvages
L'Amérique le place à la tête des Sages
La Grèce l'auroit mis au nombre de ses Dieux.

Voilà donc le bill passé contre la ville de Boston. il me paroît que my lord North est un homme d'esprit mais de bien peu de sens, qui ne prévoit pas combien il fera de tort à sa patrie par une si fausse démarche qu'il lui fait faire. non seulement il y a autant à perdre pour l'Angleterre même que pour ses Colonies à l'interruption du commerce de cette ville; mais si les Américains continuent à être aussi unis et aussi sages qu'ils ont été jusqu'icy, ils se mettront bientôt en état de braver tous les efforts de la Métropole, et quand même on réussiroit à semer la dissension parmi eux, cela n'aboutiroit qu'à retarder un événement que la grande Bretagne doit regarder comme inévitable, si elle même ne change son plan, à quoi je ne vois aucune apparence. il semble que le Ciel ait voulu sur elle.

Répandre cet esprit d'imprudence et d'erreur.

De la chute des Rois funeste avant coureur. *Rac.*

J'écris par la voye de M. Macquart au Dr. Lettsom, pour le prier de nous donner des nouvelles de son Cousin M. Pickering qui s'étoit chargé d'un paquet pour vous.

Quant à l'électricité, je n'ai rien de nouveau à vous mander. Mais il me revient dans ce moment une idée au sujet de vos mouches noyées en Amérique dans du vin de Madère et ressuscitées à Londres. croyez vous que cette expérience pût réussir également sur les abeilles, et jusqu'à quel point, car ce seroit une voye bien œconomique pour en faire venir de loin.

Recevez mille amitiés de ma femme, de Mlle. Biheron, de MM. Dalibard, de Beaumont, Du Pont, de Lor, &c. J'ai l'honneur, etc.

A Paris 16^e avril 1774

(17 avril.) Je viens de recevoir par le canal de M. Le Roy le discours de M. Pringle à la société royale du 30^e 9^{bre} dernier, que je m'en vais lire immédiatement et sûrement avec grand plaisir, mais il faut que ma lettre parte auparavant. je vous supplie de lui en faire mes justes remerciemens.

Je rouvre ma lettre pour vous dire que M^r de Lore que je viens de rencontrer et qui vous salue, n'a point du tout été surpris de l'expérience de M^r Walsh, qui n'étoit point nouvelle pour lui, et ne paroitra nouvelle à aucun Physicien qui se soit exercé à faire des baromètres lumineux, le succès dépendant absolument du vide imparfait, et manquant constamment dans le vide parfait.

Apropos de M. Walsh, quand nous donnera-t-il le détail de ses expériences sur la torpille?

A PARIS ce 22^e 7^{bre} 1774.

Mon cher Maitre: — Votre lettre du 10^e août m'a pénétré l'âme du plus délicieux sentiment, en me montrant de quelle façon la mienne du 28^e juillet vous avoit affecté. c'est un nouvel aiguillon pour me presser d'exécuter mon projet d'un petit voyage à Londres; cependant ma grande affaire n'est point encore terminée, peut-être le sera-t-elle sous huit jours, peut-être durera-t-elle encore six semaines de plus, mais le dénouement en est sûr désormais; et dès que j'en serai débarrassée, j'aurais bientôt fait mon paquet pour partir et me rendre auprès de vous. M. Magalhaens m'a non seulement fait espérer que je vous trouverois encore en Angleterre, mais il m'a laissé entrevoir une lueur d'espérance que vous pourriez faire un tour à Paris cet hiver, plust à Dieu que nous eussions la satisfaction de vous y posséder encore une fois! et en effet je ne doute pas que vous n'ayez pesé mûrement toutes les circonstances de votre présente situation; je ne suis pas à portée de tout combiner à cet égard, mais à vue de pays, voicy ce qui m'ensemble. Votre départ pour l'Amérique dans ce moment de crise donneroit beaucoup d'ombrage au gouvernement Britannique, et qui sait ce qu'ils ne seroient pas capables d'attenter? votre séjour à Londres ne leur plait peut-être guères davantage, et peut d'ailleurs vous exposer à des mauvaises humeurs d'une populace effrénée, qui s'emporte souvent et sait rarement pourquoi si le même peuple en France est appellé brise-raison, en Angleterre il pourroit s'appeller brise-tout; avec la notre il n'y a rien à craindre, vis à vis du votre il n'y a point à rire. venez donc, cher Ami, laisser passer l'orage, Sat Patriae, Priamoque. Jamais la France n'a été si tranquille, ni n'a paru mieux fondée dans ses esperances d'un heureux avenir. Notre nouveau Contrôleur général, M. Turgot, avec des vertus et des lumières, a la confiance du Roi et du public. un arrêt du conseil dressé sur un moule bien différent des précédens nous a donné (hier) la liberté la plus complète du commerce des bleds dans l'intérieur du royaume, et annoncé le pleine et indéfinie liberté de ce commerce même à l'extérieur comme assez prochaine. la liberté de la presse est presque entièrement rétablie, ou n'en excepte que les matières de religion sur lesquelles il faut se taire, et laisser la superstition s'éteindre d'elle même.

Je me propose de porter aujourd'huy à la censure, un petit prospectus d'une suite de papiers plus ou moins nombreuse et frequente, sans assujétissement formet, sous le titre de: *Le Correspondant de Philadelphie*. Il ne vous sera pas difficile de deviner sur le titre seul que vous même avez fait mes premiers fonds pour

cette entreprise et êtes ma principale ressource pour la remplir. Si vous étiez icy pour l'acheminer, et l'animer, je serois bien plus assuré du succès. j'y annonce une grande variété et une certaine abondance de nouveautés politiques et littéraires de l'Amérique, et spécialement de Philadelphie que je mets en parallèle avec Paris, mais j'ai peur que vous ne trouviez le parallèle un peu foible.

J'ai fait harceler inutilement jusqu'icy M. Stanley, non seulement par M. La Roi, mais encore par une de ses Cousines qui se flatte d'en venir à bout.

Ma femme et ses Amies ne sont pas moins impatientes que moi de vous embrasser, Monsieur et cher Ami. soyez bien assuré qu'on ne sauroit être plus parfaitement. Votre très fidèle et très affectionné serviteur.

DUBOURG.

Mes respects s. v. p. à Mr. Pringle.

A PARIS ce 10^e 8^{bre} 1774.

J'ai reçu, Mon cher Maitre, vos deux chères petites lettres du 21^e août et 4^e 8^{bre} et dans celle cy une petite feuille du journal de Pensylvanie que m'a fait le plus grand plaisir, et que je tacherai qui ne soit pas perdre pour ce pays cy. Je vous prie, lorsque, vous avez quelques papiers semblables, ou autre dont il vous plaira de me régaler, de vouloir me les adresser. To Dr. B. D. at the Abbot Baudeau, et d'ajouter une enveloppe extérieure (ou chemise) à Monseigneur, Monseigneur Turgot, Ministre d'Etat et Contrôleur général des finances, à Paris. au moyen de cela tous vos paquets me parviendront francs de port, grands ou petits, fût-ce des volumes entiers.

Je serai bien enchanté de recevoir icy Monsieur votre Neveu, et comblé de joye si je puis l'accompagner à son retour en Angleterre; j'espère le pouvoir au commencement de décembre. Je n'ai encore joui qu'un moment de M. Le Dr. Priestley, mais je tâcherai de le joindre un peu plus à mon aise, et de profiter autant qu'il sera en moy de l'occasion de cultiver la connoissance d'un homme d'un si grand mérite, dont j'ai lu les expériences sur les différentes sortes d'air avec une satisfaction singulière.

Votre petit mémoire sur les effets de l'huile pour aplanir les vagues de la mer est traduite, j'en ai relu la traduction, et le traducteur devoit me la rapporter avec quelques parties retouchés. je l'attens et j'ignore où il loge.

Apropos de cela, confrontez je vous prie dans Pline, ce qu'il

dit de l'usage du vinaigre avec ce que vous en avez cité de mémoire, vous y trouverez une différence notable. de son tems on jettoit en l'air du vinaigre, non pour appaiser les tempêtes, mais pour dissiper les typhons ou les trombes. si donc il vous arrivoit de vous retrouver à portée d'une seconde trombe en Maryland ou ailleurs, je vous proposerais de l'arroser de vinaigre, au lieu de la fustiger avec votre fouet, pour voir si elle seroit plus sensible à l'un qu'à l'autre.

Toutes les traverses domestiques que j'ai prouvées des [torn] quelques années ont prit fin, moyennant un sacrifice [torn] considérable; et tout sera consommé à cet égard d'icy au commencement de décembre.

Ma femme et ses bonnes Amies vous présentent leurs civilités et vous embrassent à l'envi l'une de l'autre.

Mes respectueux compliments, s'il vous plait, à M. Pringle. J'ai l'honneur, etc.

DUBOURG.

A PARIS ce 13 J^r 1775.

Mon cher Maitre: — Il y a longtems que je n'ai eu l'honneur de vous écrire j'en suis honteux. lors du départ du Mrs. Magellan et Priestley, j'avois une lettre prête à fermer lorsqu'on m'annonça pour le jour même de la part la M. Le Roy que son parent m'apporteroit les 8 Louis qu'il vous doit. je l'attendis vainement et je passay chez M. Magellan 2 heures après son départ. depuis ce tems ce même homme m'a fait réitérer de semaine en semaine la même promesse, et ne la point encore tenu. quoiqu'une de ses parentes le lutine presque sans cesse sur cela. Votre belle expérience de l'huile versée sur les flots a trouvé icy quantité d'incrédules, mais d'un autre côté plusieurs marins y ont rendu des témoignages favorables, d'après des faits analogues à eux bien connus; cependant je n'ai point appris qu'aucun de nos Physiciens, se soit attaché à les vérifier jusqu'à ce jour. Vous savez sans doute ce que Mr. Allamand a fait sur cela en Hollande, et avec quel succès l'heureux pratique des matelots de Scheveling me persuade de plus en plus que l'idée qui est venue à un marin de ma connoissance en de Billy est parfaitement bien conçue. il voudroit que quand deux vaisseaux se rencontrent en mer, et veulent se communiquer quelque chose par leurs canots, on jettat du vaisseau qui a le dessus du vent un peu d'huile dans l'espèce de canal intermédiaire pour applanir les lames et faciliter l'arbordage du canot à l'autre vaisseau, où la lame brise le plus fort du l'ordinaire.

J'ai reçu deux lettres bien intéressantes du Dr. Rush l'une de 8^{bre} et l'autre de 9^{bre} qui ajoutées aux divers autres bons matériaux que vous avez eu la bonté de m'envoyer, m'ont mis en état d'entamer le projet qui me rouloit depuis assez longtems par la tête de faire une sorte d'ouvrage périodique fondé sur la correspondance de l'un à l'autre continent. je me suis décidé à donner successivement au public des lettres que je m'adresse sous le nom d'un Trembleur de Philadelphie actuellement à Londres, et où parant mon trembleur de vos plumes et d'elles de vos amis, et y mettant par cy par là du mien, tant pour les transitions que pour la variété. je traite librement de toutes sortes de sujets sans trop me compromettre. La 1^{re} de ces prétendues lettres de Samuel Jone est datée du 5^e 7^{bre} dernier, la 2^e du 8^e. La 3^e du 12. quoique je n'aye commencé qu'en 9^{bre} j'en fais trois par semaine au lieu de deux, jusqu'à ce que je sois au courant de mes dattes des lundis et des jeudis. J'en ai lu plusieurs à divers amis de différens état et de différens goûts, qui tous m'ont paru les trouver piquantes. j'ai demandé une approbation pour les faire imprimer et le Censeur royal que l'on m'a donné m'a laissé passer sans difficulté les choses les plus hardis sur le compte du Clergé, sur quoi je n'aurois pas osé en dire la moitié tant il y a un an; il m'a rayé quelques mots qui pourroient ne pas plaire à nos Magistrats, mais dont je me suis departe sans peine. à ce moyen je compte mettre le 1^{er} recueil sous presse dans le courant de ce mois, et en faire distribuer le 1^{er} cayer le 1^{er} lundi de mars. chaque cayer de 3 feuilles in 12, et cinq cayers faisant le volume je compte en répandre un petit prospectus le plus tôt possible et vous en adresser quelques exemplaires pour vos amis. mais il ne faut pas m'abandonner à mes seules forces, cher Ami, je fournirois mal cette carrière, si vous ne m'y souteniez. Samuel Jone me le fait espérer des ses 1^{eres} lettres. tout y est à votre gloire et bien peu de choses mon honneur.

Vous trouverez dans la 1^{re} lettre un parallèle de Philadelphie et de Paris dont on a été content icy, quoiqu'il ne flatte pas trop ma patrie. j'espère qu'il ne vous déplaie point. Vous verrez que le Parlement Britannique n'est pas menagé dans la 4^e. mais vous verrez où j'ai puisé les traits dont je le peins. vous en verrez qui sont de mon cru en totalité sur les assassins de no(?) sur le despotisme, &c., mais je crains bien que vous ne les trouviez les plus foibles. [*incomplete.*]

A PARIS CE 19 Mars 1775.

Monsieur et cheri Maitre: — Votre dernière lettre m'ayant été remise par M^r Williams m'a fait un plaisir singulier. L'avantage qu'il a de vous appartenir de si près formoit un préjugé bien favorable pour lui, sa physiognomie ne prévient pas moins en sa faveur, les qualités de son esprit et la douceur de ses mœurs y répondent parfaitement. il se fait aimer généralement icy des hommes et des femmes, qui le prendroient volontiers pour un françois. nous désirons de le posséder longtems, et n'en jouirons jamais tant que nous le voudrions. nous avons été très flattés qu'il ait bien voulu se loger à portée de notre quartier. puissions nous vous y tenir egalemeut et fallut-il donner congé à tous nos locataires pour vous offrir un appartement commode chez nous.

J'ai fait donner un coup d'aiguillon à M. Stanley pour M. Le Roy qui n'y a pas été insensible, en le prevenant que vous ne laisseriez pas sa pendule en Europe. si vous repartiez pour l'Amérique, comme cela pouvoit arriver au 1^{er} jour, et quelle seroit censée tout à fait à vous pour vos 8 guinées. j'espère qu'il fera les derniers efforts pour terminer cette affaire dont il devoit mourir de confusion.

On débite icy divers bruits au sujet des différens de votre Métropole avec ses Colonies. s'il est vrai que le Ministère propose que l'Amérique se taxe elle même suivant la proportion une fois réglée par le parlement de Londres, c'est à dire que telle somme qui fût accordée anneaulement au Roy, l'Angleterre en fournit tant de sols pour livre, l'Irlande tant et l'Amérique tant, il me semble que vous pourriez d'autant mieux l'accepter que les richesses de l'Angleterre et Ecosse ne peuvent que diminuer et celles de toutes vos Colonies ne peuvent que s'accroître, et que malgré cela la taxe des uns ne pourroit être aggravée sans aggraver pareillement le fardeau des autres.

Mes lettres sous le nom d'un Trembleur, quoique approuvées par le Censeur royal ont été absolument supprimées par la Garde des sceaux; aussi je ne puis les faire imprimer comme je me le proposois. tous les materiaux n'en seront peutêtre pas perdus, mais je ne sais quand ni comment j'en pourrai faire usage. cela me fâche un peu.

Soyez, je vous prie, bien persuadé de toute ma sensibilité à la parte que vous avez faite, et que je n'ai apprise que par le deuil que j'ai vu porter à M^r votre Neveu.¹ il est bien triste de perdu la moitié de soi même à la veille pour ainsi dire d'une réunion après une longue absence.

¹ Franklin's wife, Deborah (Read) Franklin, died in December, 1774.

J'ai toujours de nouvelles actions de grâces à vous rendre. la plupart de vos pamphlets sont très intéressans, et votre nouvelle édition sera l'honneur de ma petite bibliothèque.

Recevez mille tendres complimens de ma femme, de Mlles. Biheron, Basseport, &c.

Voulez vous bien vous charger de mes remercimens et de mes respects pour Mr. Pringle dont le discours à l'occasion de prix accordé par votre Société royale vaut au moins l'ouvrage même qu'elle a couronné; je crois cependant que l'on a bien fait de déferer cet honneur à M. Walsh pour encourager les riches amateurs des sciences à faire un aussi digne usage de leur opulence. J'ai l'honneur, etc.

Je ne vous dirai rien de Mlle. Biheron qui a l'honneur de vous écrire elle même, et qui aime autant à peu près que moi à s'entretenir de vous. Mais je vous proteste que ma femme est si éprise de la même passion pour vous que nos Prêtres et nos Moines perdent tous les jours de leur crédit sur son esprit, cecy soit pourtant dit entre nous sous le secret. il est certain que si sa santé étoit plus firme, elle se laisseroit volontiers mener à Londres pour vous embrasser encore une fois, aussi bien que M. Pringle qu'elle honore aussi très particulièrement. Pour moi je redoute le printemps prochain plus que l'on n'a jamais redouté la saison des frimats; et de tems en tems je ne berce de la douce espérance qu'un plus long séjour de votre part à Londres pourra être nécessaire à vos Compatriots et qu'ils vous y retiendront, et que vous repasserez encore une fois le pas de Calais. Dieu le veuille, et me fournir l'occasion de vous témoigner efficacement combien je vous suis parfaitement et inviolablement attaché, Monsieur, etc.

FRANKLIN TO WILLIAM HODGSON ¹

Passy April 26, 1782.

SIR, — I duly received Your several favors of September 4th and 18th, and 30th October which sundry Circumstances prevented my answering regularly, but I took Care to order the needful into Your Hands by a Credit of £400.15 Sterling, which I suppose You have received.

Mr. Witherspoon has been with me and has repaid the 20 Guineas You advanced to him. I give You a great deal of

¹ From the Public Record Office, London, through the courtesy of Prof. Guernsey Jones, of the University of Nebraska.

trouble, at present I can only thank You and that never sufficiently. Curson and Gouverneur have by a Letter to me acknowledged Your kind Care in finding them out and making them the Offer of Money. they had not then occasion, but still if they should have occasion for it hereafter, I request You would furnish them, not for their Subsistence only, but for any other important Use in defending themselves and obtaining their Liberty. I inclose a Letter for them.

The Affair of exchanging Captain Manley against Major Cowley perplexed me a little. I spoke to the Minister about it and tho' Cowley was not a Prisoner to the Americans he made no Objection on that Account: but I did not press the Affair, because I have found that particular Changes by favor, before their Turns tho' they oblige particular Persons, are grievous to all the rest, who are offended with such Partiality and think themselves slighted and injured by such preference. I honor Capt: Manley and should be glad to serve him and indeed all the rest. Perhaps You can get him sent over among the 53 You mention. If this is done by Your Management it will not be so offensive as if by mine. Cowley has his Parole. I will get up and return the Engagement entered into by the People taken in the Snake Sloop, or send a Discharge from it as soon as they arrive.

Our late Success in Virginia gives Us the Disposition of a great many Prisoners, and as it may occasion Men to be more wanted there in Your Service I would make a Proposal thro' You to the Comm'rs, which is, that if they will send me over hither all the American Prisoners they possess, I will give an Acknowledgement of receiving them, and engage that an equal number of English shall be delivered for them in America, Soldiers or Sailors, or both, for the Men You have are mixed, a part of them only being Sailors, Our Privateers having many Land Men, or if it should be apprehended that Our People delivered here may be used in Europe against You, and that should be thought more inconvenient, then I would propose that they should be sent home in Your Ships and exchanged there by Your Admirals or Generals. Some Circumstances of Kindness to them at their Departure from England, shewing a change of Disposition towards Us, might have a good effect on the Minds of their Countrymen, and tend to promote the good Work of Peace. Please to let me know Your Sentiments on these Propositions, and the Sentiments of the Board if they think fit to give them. I know there has been as You observe a great many Prisoners

released from Spain, but I have never been able to obtain any Account of them, if the Comm'rs have I am persuaded they will credit Us with them. There are I believe a few English Prisoners still in France that were taken by American Privateers, but I have no Account of them from the Ports. I suppose they are sent over from time to time in the Cartels. There were 17 left at l'Orient, last Spring brought in by Our Frigate the Alliance. It is long since I heard any thing of them. I imagine they were sent over, and that as We were in debt to the Commissioners they have given Us Credit for them and the rest. I shall be glad to know how the Account stands at present.

I wrote to You some time since, requesting that the Prisoners may be allowed 1 / per week from the Middle of November to the middle of March. I have received a Letter from sundry Americans in Deal Prison viz: Robert Smallpeece Junr: Allen Ord, Ephraim Wales, John Parker, Caleb Miller, Jesse Breed, Edward Hopper, and Amos Easterbrooks. Permit me to recommend these Men also to Your kind Care and to the same allowance. Does not the Rev: Mr. Denward live at Deal? Perhaps he would be Your Administrator.

I mentioned above that partial favor shewn to Particulars would be better from another than from me, there are some whom I should wish to favor if I durst, as their Circumstances or Merit seem to claim it: but I cannot well do for one, however he may merit it, what I should be under necessity of refusing to many, from want of Cash as well as of Orders, I would therefore request of the good and charitable Friends at Portsmouth and Plymouth who take the Pains of the Distribution, that where particular Circumstances make it appear to them proper, they would sometimes favor certain Persons in some unknown name concealing the Source from whence it springs. There are Capt. Manley, Silas Talbot and Zepheniah Hatch, who have written to me: I cannot comply with their Demands without drawing a vast many others upon my back, and I have not answered their Letters; but I wish some Addition may now and then be made to their Allowance, tho' not as from me.

I inclose Our last Gazette, by which You will see that General Burgoyne has now a Companion in Misfortune. This World is full of Changes and of Chances. War in particular abounds with them. The present I think has done Mischief enough. When will Your Rulers be of the same Opinion? I am with others empowered to treat of Peace and for the sake of Humanity I heartily wish it, but I draw near the end of Life. I hardly expect

that in my time there will be any use made of Our Commission.
With the greatest and most sincere Esteem, I am etc.

B: FRANKLIN.

I desire You would charge [me] with the Postage of this and all other Packets and Letters that pass between Us.

PASSY April 26. 1782.

DEAR SIR,— Your two Favours of the 9th Instant came to my hands but a few days since. I had written so fully to you by the preceeding Post, sending at the same time the Passports and Powers you had demanded, which I hope will be sufficient, that I find little left to answer.

I am much pleased with the memorial you presented respecting the Prisoners, and thank you heartily for the Pains you have so kindly taken in that affair.

As to the Expence to the Transports and Provisions, I would just remark, that a great Number of our People, made Prisoners in America, instead of being exchanged there, were cruelly and unnecessarily sent by Admiral Rodney to England in Irons, and pack'd together in the unwholesome Holds of the Ships, which kill'd many. The Provisions for those taken in these Seas, should, I think in Justice be compensated by an equal Quantity delivered in America to the Prisoners we shall give in Exchange to be returned in Europe. The Transport Vessels would perhaps go in their Ballast, as they will be wanted probably in America to receive the exchanged Men, or to remove their Garrisons; and if your Government will accept my first Proposition, and deliver our men to me here, I would save it the Expence of hiring Ships for transporting them to America, as I could easily find the Means of doing it in our own or French Ships.

Having mentioned these Ideas, I confide the whole Transaction to your Judgment and Equity, and shall be satisfied with any Agreement you make, for I know you will do what is right and obtain for us every advantage we ought to expect. Lord Shelburne's intended Kindness to the Prisoners, so as to render their Voyage comfortable, gives me great Pleasure, not so much on Account of an Expence to be saved by that means, but because I know it will have an excellent Effect in America, by its Tendency to *conciliate*; which I think a material Point that merits the attention of both Sides at present: for a Peace may be made by merely agreeing to cease fighting; and that may be without *Reconciliation*; in which Case the Peace will be less advantageous and of a short

Duration. Whatever Allowance his Lordship makes for the Purpose above mentioned to the Prisoners in England, I suppose he will extend also to those in Ireland. If not, I request you will desire your Friends at Kinsale to furnish it, and I will pay the Account upon Sight. Be so good as to present my best Respects and Thanks to his Lordship, for this Instance of his Humanity and Benevolence towards our poor People, and assure him I shall always retain a gratefull Sense of it.

With great Esteem I have the honor to be, Dear Sir, etc., etc.
B. FRANKLIN.

Mr. Charles Moore of the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress, sends a copy of a letter from

H. W. LONGFELLOW TO PELEG SPRAGUE

BOWDOIN COLLEGE, Feby. 23rd 1834.

PHIL'A., April 7, 1841.

Hon. Peleg Sprague

DEAR SIR — I must apologize for troubling you with a letter at a time when you are so much engaged as at the present moment. I certainly should not do so, were it not in behalf of a friend, and upon business which, in a certain sense, is of a public nature.

I see by the papers that four American artists are to be employed to execute paintings, upon national subjects, for four vacant panels in the Rotunda of the Capitol. A very intimate friend of mine, Mr. George Cooke of New York, is very desirous of this opportunity to distinguish himself. He already enjoys a high reputation as a portrait and landscape painter, and I have every reason to believe that he will become equally celebrated in historic painting.¹

I passed nearly a year with Mr. Cooke in Italy, and I can bear witness to his ardent and assiduous application in his profession. He passed, I think, four years in Europe, and returns home, full of zeal and enthusiasm for his art, and burning to distinguish himself by some great work. His age cannot be far from thirty-five, so that he is in his prime — a man of fine powers and long experience. His style of painting is exceedingly finished and beautiful, and his coloring very excellent.

I believe our Representative, Mr. Jarvis,² is one of the Committee to whom this subject is referred.

¹ He was born in St. Mary County, Md., March 11, 1793, studied art in Europe, 1826-1830, and settled in New York on his return to the United States.

² Leonard Jarvis (1781-1854).

If you should have leisure to speak with him, I must beg of you to mention Mr. Cooke, as a man who would not be likely to disappoint the expectations of the Committee.

Will you excuse me, Sir, if having thus far pleaded the cause of my friend, I take the liberty of asking a favor for myself? From reasons, which I need not here mention, I have become desirous of leaving Brunswick. My ardent desire is, to obtain an appointment as Secretary of Legation in some foreign Embassy; but this I suppose is impossible at the present moment. I have no friends in power under the present Administration; though I hope hereafter to procure such a situation. *En attendant* a gentleman from Virginia — a friend who is much interested in my success in life — informs me that in all probability I should be able to procure the professorship Mod. Lang. in the University of Va.

I have requested Mr. Cooke, who is acquainted with Mr. Rives, Senator from Va., to write to him upon the subject, to see if there is a vacancy.

If you will ask Mr. Rives (who is one of the Gov^{rs} of the University) what the state of the institution is, and what the salaries or requisites of the professors are, you will do me a great favor.

I hope, Sir, you will not think I have presumed too far in this letter. I should not have written, were not the subject of much importance to me, and I will request you, in conclusion, not to put yourself to any inconvenience in these matters, but let them wait your leisure. I am, Sir, very respectfully, Your Ob^t. Serv^t.

HENRY W. LONGFELLOW.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. A. FORBES, E. W. EMERSON, and F. C. SHATTUCK.

MEMOIR

OF

HAROLD CLARENCE ERNST

By JOHN WOODFORD FARLOW

Harold Clarence Ernst, whose death occurred on September, 7, 1922, at the Jordan Hospital, Plymouth, Mass., was born in Cincinnati, Ohio, July 31, 1855.

His grandfather came to this country from Germany during the wars with Napoleon. As the chief man in a small village, he was ordered to levy a tax, or tribute, on the inhabitants, which he regarded as so unjust that he refused to obey, and escaped with his family during the night to a neighboring seaport, whence he sailed for the United States. He regarded the Germans as cravens in their attitude toward Napoleon, and never allowed German to be spoken in his family except to his wife, who seemed unable to learn English sufficiently well to speak it. This vigorous, independent opposition to injustice may well have had an hereditary influence in producing in the grandson Dr. Ernst's well-known courage in facing obstacles and his devotion to high principles.

His father, Andrew Henry Ernst, was a successful business man in Cincinnati, much interested in horticulture, especially the growing of apples, and was one of the founders of the Horticultural Society of Ohio. His mother, Sarah H. Otis, was a very able, public-spirited woman, a great worker in the civil war, an abolitionist, and a pioneer advocate of woman's suffrage. The Ernst house in Cincinnati was one of the underground stations for escaping slaves, and seems to have been visited by many of the prominent men and women of the day.

Harold was graduated from Harvard in 1876 with the



CHS

Samuel C. East.



degree of A.B. and from the Medical School with his M.D. in 1880. He received the degree of A.M. in 1884. After a graduate course and hospital service, he settled in Jamaica Plain, his home until his death. In 1883 he married Ellen Lunt Frothingham, of Boston. In addition to private practice, he held the position of physician to out-patients at the Massachusetts General Hospital for twelve years, until 1900.

The years of his medical school studies were those in which many of the great discoveries of Pasteur, Lister and Koch were given to the world, and under this influence Dr. Ernst became a persevering and enthusiastic worker with the microscope in the study of bacteria, about which little was known at that time in this country. He began his special studies at the old medical school on North Grove Street, in a sort of closet in the Warren Museum, meeting with little encouragement and much opposition on account of the ignorance of the medical profession on the important relations between bacteria and medical and surgical diseases. He made two trips to Europe to learn about Koch's discovery of the bacilli of tuberculosis and studied in Koch's laboratory the use of tuberculin, of which he brought home a supply. Although never a student of Pasteur, he kept in close touch with everything that emanated from the investigations of one whose work he considered as contributing the most to the progress of medical science.

Beginning as assistant in 1885, Dr. Ernst slowly but steadily advanced through the grades of demonstrator, instructor, assistant professor, until, in 1895, he was made professor of bacteriology, a position he held until the year of his death. The six lectures that he gave in 1885 were the first lectures on bacteriology given in this country, that is, as a part of a medical course by a special teacher. Since that time a generation of students has passed under his instruction, spreading among the profession and the public the knowledge of the great service that bacteriology has rendered to the world. The growth of his department from the primitive quarters in 1885 to the splendidly equipped laboratories and lecture rooms in the buildings on Longwood Avenue is proof that it is receiving the recognition he had worked so hard for years to obtain for it. It must have been pleasing to him that the

new street leading from the parkway to the medical school received the name of "Avenue Louis Pasteur."

Dr. Ernst was one of the early investigators of tuberculosis in cows and the contagiousness of their milk, and he wrote much of value on these topics. He made all the tuberculin used by the City of Boston until the entire work was taken over by the State. The use of antitoxin and its clinical value in diphtheria occupied much of his time and thought, and all the diphtheria antitoxin available in Boston was made in his laboratory for a long time, the methods of preparation and the tests for purity and strength being worked out by him, in the face of much opposition and discouragement. The fact that he had been a practising physician with large clinical experience and was at the same time a trained bacteriologist made his scientific work of greater value, because, as Professor W. H. Welch, of Johns Hopkins Hospital, well says, "He had *practised* and knew how to *apply* the knowledge gained in the laboratory."

In its early days, bacteriology was much simpler than it is today, and it is questionable whether a physician could now continue to follow bacteriology as a profession and at the same time have a private practice and hospital service. Dr. Ernst must have worked hard to do this, but the time came, about 1895, when he was obliged to give up his private practice in order to devote himself to his scientific work.

An important service done in his laboratory was the successful employment of the methods of ultra-violet photomicrography and the improvement of the technic for its use in the rapid diagnosis of rabies. Through the kindness of Dr. Hamilton Osgood, in 1886, he received from Pasteur's laboratory two rabbits which had been inoculated with the virus of rabies, one by Pasteur himself, the other by his assistant. This material served as a source from which Dr. Ernst conducted a series of research experiments, in order that he might be ready, if called on later by the State, to supply the means for the treatment of the dreaded disease hydrophobia.

For some of the work which originated in his laboratory Dr. Ernst failed to receive due credit; for instance, when in

practice he prepared and used sterilized milk for his sick babies before this was done by anyone else, although the credit is generally given to those who learned it from him.

Dr. J. C. Warren has sent me an extract from an article that he wrote for the *Boston Transcript* of March 13, 1912, in which he stated that he received from Dr. Ernst suggestions about sterilizing surgical dressings and used with success in his clinic at the Massachusetts General Hospital an apparatus made for him by Dr. Ernst for this purpose before the publication of Lister's book advocating similar procedures was published.

In 1896 Dr. Ernst was made sole editor of the *Journal of Medical Research* and was still editor at the time of his death. This was a position that required much labor, great perseverance and power of discrimination in order to recognize what was of real value as research. The *Journal* has maintained its high standard and has an international reputation. He helped to form the Association of American Pathologists and Bacteriologists, and was its secretary from 1901 to 1917, except the year of his presidency. He was also a member of the Association of American Physicians.

At the dedication of the new Harvard Medical School in 1906, he was a much appreciated helper of Dr. Bowditch and Dr. Warren, and his great executive ability was freely called on. He edited for the occasion a most admirable history of the school and the dedication exercises.

For a number of years he appeared before committees of the legislature as a zealous advocate of high standards of medical education, of better registration laws, of the value of animal experimentation and vaccination, always in the face of determined opposition, as can be well understood; but this did not deter him. Whenever anything difficult was to be done, especially if great persistence and indomitable courage were necessary, Dr. Ernst was the one to call on.

In the recent war, he offered his services and was placed at the head of the Northeastern Division Laboratory work, with rank of major, all contagious diseases coming under his inspection. This position he held until the Government had equipped a special laboratory and the work was placed

in the hands of the regular army men. He had a strong, commanding figure and erect carriage, and his grey moustache gave him a distinguished, military look well in harmony with his uniform as major.

In college and in the medical school he was a noted baseball player, famous as one of the first to fathom the mystery of the curved pitched ball, which had been regarded by some scientific men as an impossibility. A recent article in one of the Boston papers¹ devoted nearly a page to his prowess as a pitcher and the credit that was due him for his work in developing the possibilities of what has become one of the special features of the great American game. He was also an ardent lover of golf and was on the team of the Brookline Country Club, an unusual record for a professor of bacteriology, who had to spend most of his time in the laboratory. At his summer home in Plymouth, he gloried in the out-of-doors life, the growing of beautiful pond lilies, the cultivation of fruit trees. He was a lover of books, and when not otherwise engaged, always had a book in his hand.

In November, 1920, Dr. Ernst was elected a member of this Society, and read the report of the committee to examine the library in April, 1921. In the room below us is his notable collection of sundials, many of them purchased in Japan twelve years ago, and shown at the special exhibitions of the Society in 1921 and 1922.

Dr. Ernst was an able man, of strong character, of great courage and devotion to high ideals. He had the type of mind that wanted everything to be right, and he was willing and ready to do more than his share in bringing this about. It is in harmony with his character that his book-plate should bear these words, "Ernst ist das Leben."

¹ *Boston Sunday Post*, September 10, 1922.

DECEMBER MEETING.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 14th instant, at three o'clock, P.M., Mr. LORD in the chair. The record of the last meeting was read and approved. The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From Paul Dana, of New York, through Prof. Charles Sprague Sargent, the papers of Col. Winthrop Sargent, of Gloucester, Mass., a Corresponding Member of this Society from 1794 to 1820, showing his connection with Rufus Putnam and Manasseh Cutler, the settlement at Marietta, his own services as Surveyor-General of the proposed territory in 1786, as Secretary in 1787, and later as acting Governor in the absence of Governor St. Clair; also letters received while he was Governor of the Mississippi Territory, 1798-1801. These papers, running from 1771 to 1820, contain letters from Gen. Henry Knox, Robert Morris, Rufus King, and many others prominent in the affairs of the period.

From Mrs. Archibald Hopkins, of Washington, D. C., by deposit, through our associate Rev. Mr. Frothingham, that portion of the Edward Everett correspondence which is in her possession, running from 1814 to 1865, with letters relating to the same from 1907 to 1920 and some printed material.

From Miss Clara Bertha Dobson, of Ipswich, Mass., papers of her grandfather, Lemuel Shattuck, the historian of Concord, Mass., and a Resident Member of this Society, consisting of a copy of his autobiography, 1844, and letters to his brother Daniel, at Concord, 1816-1835, written from Albany and Troy, N. Y., and Detroit, Mich., where he taught school.

From Dr. Algernon Coolidge, a number of rare maps, showing battle-grounds and other places in America during the War for Independence; also a pencil sketch of an old house and grounds on Purchase Street, and certificates of membership of his father, Dr. Algernon Coolidge, in German Societies in 1850 and 1855.

From Miss Emma Rodman, a passport issued to Samuel W. Rodman, Washington, March 25, 1836.

From Leonard F. Austin, of Providence, R. I., several tax lists of the Independent Christian Society of Gloucester, Mass., 1790-1840, with a letter to Rev. John Murray, minister of the Uni-

versalist Church there, which was established in 1779; also two rare tracts printed in 1785,¹ and copies of letters relating to this Church, April, 1776.

By purchase, a common-place book written by Benjamin Franklin (1650-1727), an uncle of Dr. Franklin, which has been printed by the Colonial Society of Massachusetts; also an account-book kept by Benjamin Stockbridge, of Scituate, as shoemaker and miller, 1705 to 1729; and notes of his son Dr. Benjamin Stockbridge on alchemy. Also four folio pages of an account-book of a Boston merchant, 1702-1709, 1714, 1715, and the second volume of a diary kept by Edmund Quincy, Jr., at Dedham, April 28 to November 2, 1852.

From Dr. Frederick C. Shattuck, papers of his grandfather, Dr. George Shattuck, 1848-1853.

From Mr. John W. Farwell, a map showing the burnt district of Boston, 1872, issued by the Boston Safe Deposit and Trust Company in 1876.

From the Estate of Miss Georgina Lowell, a large paper copy of Edmund F. Slafter's *Sir William Alexander and American Colonization*, extended with many illustrations.

From Harold Murdock, three Massachusetts broadsides: The Bloody Butchery by the British Troops at Concord, April 19, 1775; one on the Battle of Bunker Hill; and In Provincial Congress, Cambridge, February 14, 1775, resolves recommending a review of the several regiments in the Province, and a return of their condition to Congress.

From Grenville H. Norcross, a pastoral eulogy, "The Tears of Friendship," composed by Nathaniel Sigourney on the death of Miss Polly Webb, Boston, September 12, 1792, written on a large piece of parchment by William Jenks.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following gifts:

From Harold Murdock, a pencil drawing of Tremont Street, as it appeared in 1800, from Hamilton Place to Boylston Street, made by George M. Woodward, July, 1864, from the recollections of Dr. Solomon Davis Townsend. A like drawing by the same

¹ An | Appeal | to the | impartial Public | by | The Society of | Christian Independents, | congregating in | Gloucester. | Boston, | Printed by Benjamin Edes & Son, | No. 42, Cornhill. | M,DCC,LXXXV. By Epes Sargent. An | Answer | to | a Piece, | entitled, | "An Appeal | to the | impartial Publick, | By an Association," | Calling Themselves | "Christian Independents, in Gloucester," | Massachusetts: | Printed and sold by S. Hall, in Salem. | MDCCLXXXV.

artist, drawn in 1865, is in the office of the City Registrar, City Hall, Boston, and also gives another section of Tremont Street, from School Street to Hamilton Place, and a third, representing Boylston Street from Tremont to Carver Street. These were photographed, greatly reduced, by John A. Whipple and copyrighted in 1866, and the two Tremont Street sections were reproduced in the *Bulletin* of the Boston Public Library, October, 1894. The Murdock drawing is earlier in date and shows differences in minor but not in essential details.

From Lemuel A. Welles, of New York, a photograph of an original daguerreotype of Daniel Webster in his possession.

From the estate of Miss Mary Perkins Quincy, of Litchfield, Conn., a miniature of John Williams Quincy, Senior, her grandfather, copied from an oil portrait said to have been painted about 1788.

From Dr. John W. Farlow, a photograph of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society building on Tremont Street, corner of Bromfield, in 1880.

From William Green Shillaber, a large photograph of the Friday Club, 1855, by Hawes, showing portraits of Chief Justice Shaw, C. P. Curtis, Thomas Motley, Nathan Hale, B. R. Curtis, George Hayward, James K. Mills, Francis C. Gray, Nathan Appleton, Charles H. Warren, William Sturgis, Thomas Ward, and T. B. Curtis.

From Dr. Samuel J. Mixter, a sketch of the common at Athol, Massachusetts, by M. E. C.

From Miss Alice W. Pearse, of Roxbury, through Joseph Morrell, of Dedham, a photograph of a portrait of John Langdon (1722-1783), by Merchant of Boston, owned by Langdon Pearse of Winnetka, Illinois, and painted by John Greenwood.

From Miss Emma Rodman, a lithographic view of Round Hill School, Northampton; a lithograph of Miss Fanny Kemble; and a mourning badge in memory of William Henry Harrison.

From Albert D. Bosson, an engraving of the Boston Exchange Coffee House, by A. Bowen; and an impression of Thomas Pownall's view of Boston, which appeared in Drake's *History of Boston*.

From Miss A. C. Storer, of Newport, R. I., 460 coins and medals, some medical and others relating to Rhode Island.

From W. K. Flint, 800 modern coins.

From Delano Wight, eight people's money bills of 1880.

From Dr. Storer, eleven presidential medals.

The Editor, for the Corresponding Secretary, reported the receipt of a letter from Philip Hale accepting his election as a Resident Member of the Society, and one from Clarence Walworth Alvord accepting his election as a Corresponding Member.

Mr. NORCROSS gave a note on

GEORGE LATIMER

The first fugitive slave seized by his former owner in Boston was George Latimer on October 21, 1842. He was confined without legal process in Leverett Street jail, and was finally bought by Rev. Nathaniel Colver, of Tremont Temple, and set free. This seizure caused great excitement in Boston and a committee for his defense was formed and a tri-weekly paper called *The Latimer Journal and North Star*, edited by Dr. Henry I. Bowditch, William Francis Channing and Frederick S. Cabot, was issued from November 11, 1842, to May 16, 1843. On October 28, 1842, Latimer sent to the Boston ministers a letter asking that prayers for his release might be offered on the following Sunday. I recently obtained, and now give to the Society, the letter sent to Rev. William Jenks of the Green Street church (formerly a member of this Society and the grandfather of Rev. Henry F. Jenks, our late member). It is in the handwriting of Samuel E. Sewall, whom several of us remember, and the signature of Latimer (by his mark) is witnessed by him.

George Latimer, a man created free by his Maker, and who believes himself free under the laws of Virginia, being now imprisoned in the Boston Jail by James B. Gray who claims him as a slave, requests an interest in your prayers, that he may be released from his unrighteous imprisonment, and preserved from the sufferings he may be called to endure if reduced to slavery.

his
GEO. X LATIMER
mark

Witness: S. E. SEWALL.

Leverett St. Jail, Oct. 28, 1842.

(Addressed) Rev. Dr. Jenks, or the officiating clergyman Green St.

Dr. Jenks has endorsed on the letter "Rec^d & read (with a few curtailments) L^d's day, Oct. 30th, 1842."

It would be interesting to know what words he omitted in reading the letter from his pulpit.

I also give two printed circulars of the Latimer committees (October 27 and December 8, 1842) sent to Dr. Jenks asking for aid financially as well as by prayer. A full account of the Latimer case is in the *Life of Henry I. Bowditch*, I. 133.

The following communication from Mr. RUGG, who was unable to be present, was read:

THE OFFICE OF ATTORNEY GENERAL

Recently it became necessary to investigate the history and power of the office of Attorney General. Of course resort was had to the admirable article by Mr. A. C. Goodell, Jr., in 2 *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society, x. 285-291, both inclusive. The statement there made, that Benjamin Bullivant, was appointed Attorney General at a date uncertain but before July 1, 1686, and sworn in July 26, 1686, has been generally accepted as true. Reference is made to Bullivant in John Dunton's *Letters from New England* (Prince Society), 94, as a physician and pharmacist. It was suggested by Mr. John Henry Edmonds, Chief of the Archives Division of the Commonwealth, that a search of the records now accessible, and not easily available to Mr. Goodell, might reveal an earlier appointment; therefore, under the immediate direction of Mr. John F. Cronin, Clerk of the Supreme Judicial Court for Suffolk County, and of Mr. Edmonds, a careful search was made of records at the State House, at the Boston Athenaeum, and of Suffolk County court files. The only record revealed thereby was in Suffolk County court files — No. 1857, Council record of 1680. It is to the effect that on April 29, 1680, Anthony Checkley was elected, by the Council, Attorney General. A photostatic copy of that record is transmitted herewith. Expressed in print its words are these:

Att A meeting of the Counil. held at Boston 29. April 80

* * * *

It is Ordered that m^r Anthony checkley is Appointed Attorney

Generall to prosecute & Implead at the Court of Assistants on the Adjournment of y^e Court Assistants on. y^e 1st wednesday after y^e Election: Elizabeth Morse presented by y^e Grand Jury for a witch: and that the Secretary m^r Addington and said m^r Checkley is Appointed to pvse (peruse) the evidences now in Court & what they Judge necessary. to be sent for wth such othe^r as m^r woodbridge or any there Cann: procure & show necessary to put as litle charge to y^e Country as may be: & y^t y^e Secretary Issue out his warrants Accordingly for all persons & to y^e keep^r of y^e prison at Ipswich to bring hir Doune at y^e time. E R R

The initials are those of Edward Rawson, Secretary of the Council and Court of Assistants.

Although the appointment was for a specified purpose and a limited period, yet the title of the office is unmistakable. Thus it appears that the first Attorney General was appointed six years and two months earlier than hitherto has been supposed. The results of this investigation are summarized in *Commonwealth v. Kozlowsky*, 238 Mass. 379, at 385. It seems, from the list of Mr. Goodell, that Anthony Checkley again was Attorney General by election on June 4, 1689, and also by appointment under the Province Charter on October 28, 1692.

In this connection record No. 975 in the Suffolk Court files is of interest: "Att a County Court held at Boston 26th 5 ^o/_m 1670 M^r Richard Callicott is Ordered & hereby impowred to be Attourney for the Court at the Next Court of Assistants in what case or cases Criminal have appealed from the Judgm^t of this Court. This is a True Coppie as Attests Free Grace Bendall Clerk." Manifestly this is not the appointment of an Attorney General. It is made by the County court and not by the body which would appoint or elect an officer with jurisdiction throughout the colony. His tenure of office is limited to a single sitting or term of court. Moreover, his duties are restricted to the cases appealed from the County court of Suffolk County. His duties are such as in later days have been conferred upon district attorneys. Although not so named, this would seem to be the earliest appearance in the Commonwealth of a District Attorney or of an officer exercising his functions. So far as I am aware, the first reference to the office of

W^{ch} is ordered that Daniell Crane
do salute shippes coming in to our
mi^{ty} & receive & shew of Cape Ham
out of Comm^{rs} will pursuant to his
may be seen in the his

In answer to the motion by
to the majority by which
cast out of the Corporation.
if it can be performed by force
~~of arms~~^{by force} without bloodshed
when required

2. J^{ts} ordered that the Committee
Cattle on Friday last. Seemingly
the hundred sign. Ground.

It is ordered that m^r And
to 20 of m^r Am^r read
of it last Friday on 11th
protested for 1st Grand jury for
and said m^r Ch^rley is
O what they judge matter
Woodbridge or any other
else charge Lord Com^r
warrant accordingly for
speech to bring her do



District Attorney in the statutes is St. 1807, c. 18. There is ground for argument that, from the words of that statute, possibly a previous existence of the office of District Attorney may be inferred. I do not know of any evidence of the appointment of a District Attorney or of the performance of the duties of that office by any one except this Suffolk record. Search of the early court records of other counties may disclose similar appointments by the court. Such search would involve great labor. I do not know of tradition or report bearing upon the point.

Captain FROTHINGHAM read a paper on

THE CRISIS OF THE CIVIL WAR — ANTIETAM

The Manassas campaign from the north of Richmond had been approved by Secretary Stanton and General Halleck, the new Commander-in-Chief of the Army, because both were swayed by the obsession, so harmful throughout the Civil War, for restricting the use of our troops to regions "where they could at the same time cover Washington and operate against Richmond." This was the stock phrase at the time. Following this line of doctrine, troops had been kept away from the only logical base, on the James River, and an army given to General Pope for an operation against Richmond from the north.

Pope's operation was a failure from the start. The Northern commander had an ample superiority in numbers (Manassas and Chantilly — Union effectives engaged 75,696, Confederates effectives engaged 48,527),¹ but he showed no ability to handle his troops. Pope was also in a daze as to the whereabouts and movements of his enemy. As a natural result, he was outmanœuvred, outfought, and badly beaten in the Second Manassas campaign — with his defeated army in full retreat to Washington in the last days of August.

After his army had left the Peninsula McClellan had been ordered to Alexandria, where he was kept in a strange anomalous position, with no definite command, but deluged with puzzling telegrams from Halleck, who was breaking

¹ *Numbers and Losses.* Livermore, U. S. A.

down under his responsibility for Pope's campaign. General Halleck's telegraphic dispatches throughout his command of the army, are amazing confessions of his incapacity,¹ but at this time he was at his worst on account of his bewilderment as to the real situation of Pope's Army, for which he had made himself responsible.

After the event, Halleck tried to shift some of the blame for Pope's failure to McClellan, by claiming that Franklin's Corps should have been sent earlier to Pope by McClellan. But, among the vacillations of Halleck's telegrams, it is clear that the final order to move Franklin was not given until the evening of August 28²—much too late to be of any help to Pope. Beside this, the following telegram of August 29, from Halleck to McClellan, disposes of any claim that Halleck intended Franklin to make a rapid advance to Pope: "I want Franklin's corps to go far enough to find out something about the enemy. Perhaps he may get such information at Anandale as to prevent his going farther." No other evidence is needed to show Halleck's helpless state of mind, and this man had been made Commander-in-Chief of the United States Army.

All doubt is removed, as to the status of General McClellan at this time, by a significant telegram from President Lincoln himself, of the same date (August 29, 1862), ". . . but I wish not to control. That I leave to Gen. Halleck aided by your counsels."³ This telegram shows that McClellan had been relegated to the position of merely being an adviser for General Halleck.

General Halleck hopelessly collapsed under the strain August 31, and late that night he sent the following pathetic dispatch to McClellan (August 31, 1862, 10.07 P.M.): "I beg of you to assist me in this crisis with your ability and experience. I am entirely tired out." In his diary, Chase bitterly called this "Halleck's surrender to McClellan." McClellan went at once to Washington and reported at Halleck's office the next morning (September 1, 1862).

¹ "In the first place, General Halleck's deficiencies as a general-in-chief are everywhere painfully apparent. It is plain that he had no definite policy of his own."—Ropes.

² Halleck to McClellan, 8.40 P.M. C. W., I. 461.

³ C. W., I. 464.

McClellan found Halleck in great confusion, between optimistic reports from Pope and persistent rumors of defeat. McClellan gave his reasons for thinking that things were going badly, and he urged upon Halleck the advisability of sending someone of his staff to get a reliable report of the condition of affairs. McClellan, with much difficulty, induced Halleck to send out his Adjutant General Kelton on this errand.

The report of this able officer was most alarming, as it was evident there had been a disaster for Pope's Army, and that night Halleck realized the threatening situation. This resulted in one of the most dramatic events of the war. President Lincoln himself fearlessly took control of the situation. The next morning (September 2) the President and General Halleck called upon General McClellan while he was at breakfast. This interview was typical of the greatness of Lincoln. The President, with characteristic sincerity, told McClellan that Pope was utterly defeated, that Pope's army was retreating in confusion, that he looked upon Washington as lost, and he asked McClellan if "under the circumstances" he would resume command of the army.

McClellan without hesitation accepted the task, and tried in vain to reassure Lincoln and Halleck as to the danger of the capture of Washington. The President then verbally placed McClellan in command,¹ and the extraordinary interview thus ended in Lincoln's giving, on his own responsibility, the command of what proved to be the decisive campaign of the Civil War. The spirit of McClellan's acceptance of this high duty was worthy of the confidence shown by Lincoln at this fateful crisis.

The written order for McClellan's command in the ensuing campaign was as follows: "Maj. Gen. McClellan will have command of the fortifications of Washington and of all the troops for the defense of the capital. By order of Maj. Gen. Halleck." (September 2, 1862.) The reinstated General² at once rode out, and met the retreating army.

¹ "The President on his own responsibility once more charged Gen. McClellan with the defense of the capital." — Irwin, U. S. A.

² "McClellan, informally reinstated by unspoken verdict of army and people alike." — Dodge, U. S. A.

He was welcomed everywhere with cheering and enthusiasm.¹ The immediate effect of his presence was a proof of McClellan's personal hold upon the army.² As fast as the different commands came in, he assigned them to stations, and before morning all confusion was at an end.

General Pope ceased to exist as an element in the military situation after the following order from Halleck (September 5): "Maj. Gen. Pope, Arlington: The Armies of the Potomac and Virginia being consolidated, you will report for orders to the Secretary of War."

In the first place, when considering the military situation on September 2, when President Lincoln gave the command to McClellan after Pope's defeat, it must be realized that the panic in Washington among the officials of the Administration went even to the extent of preparations for the evacuation of Washington. This is shown beyond doubt by Chase's Diary and other records of Lincoln's Cabinet. Ropes states: "The Secretary of War ordered a large part of the contents of the arsenal to be shipped to New York," and Gideon Welles records that Stanton and Halleck were "filled with apprehension beyond the others." This must be recognized as the attitude of the War Department and Cabinet, from which President Lincoln had broken away in boldly giving the command to McClellan.

On the other hand, it is also equally well established that, from the time of taking the command, on September 2 as described, McClellan was not infected by this prevailing fear for the safety of Washington. On the contrary, it is evident that, from the first, McClellan had divined Lee's real plan of crossing the Potomac and invading Maryland. This was proved beyond any question by the fact that McClellan, on September 3, the very next day after he had been given the command, had ordered three army corps (2d and 12th to Tenallytown, 9th to 7th Street Road near Washington) to operate against a Confederate invasion of Northern territory.

President Lincoln's drastic action was thus at once vin-

¹ Comte de Paris, etc. "The scene that followed can be more easily imagined than described. From extreme sadness we passed in a twinkling to a delirium of delight."—*Battles and Leaders*, II. 550.

² "The restoration of this brilliant soldier seemed to have imparted new life to that army."—Gordon, C. S. A.

licated by McClellan's immediate perception of Lee's actual plan of an invasion of the North, instead of an attack upon Washington as feared by the Cabinet, and McClellan's correct solution of the problem of Lee's real intention was all important for the success of the Union cause.

Thus promptly McClellan started the Northern Army on the only way that would lead to the defeat of Lee's invasion, and the credit of pursuing this way must be given to McClellan alone, as he was constantly deluged with telegrams from Halleck to call him back.

The campaign that followed, Lee's first invasion, was the most dangerous threat against the North of the whole war. In fact, it was the only offensive undertaken by the Confederates with chances of success. The greatness of the danger was not realized until long after the war, and what was at stake for the Union, outside of the operations in the field, is not even at the present time generally understood.

The details of Lee's plans are now known. General Walker's description of his interview with Lee at the outset of the campaign,¹ quotes Lee's own words (September 6):

In ten days from now, if the military situation is what I confidently expect it to be after the capture of Harper's Ferry, I shall concentrate my army at Hagerstown, effectively destroy the Baltimore and Ohio Road, and march to this point," placing his finger at Harrisburg, Penn. "That is the object of the campaign. You remember, no doubt, the long bridge over the Susquehanna, a few miles west of Harrisburg. Well, I wish effectively to destroy that bridge, which will disable the Pennsylvania Railroad for a long time. With the Baltimore and Ohio in our possession, and the Pennsylvania Railroad broken up, there will remain to the enemy but one route of connection with the west, and that very circuitous by way of the Lakes. After that I can turn my attention to Philadelphia, Baltimore, or Washington as may seem for our interests.

General Walker naturally showed his astonishment at this far-reaching plan, and Lee went on to speak of McClellan, saying: "He is an able general but a very cautious one. His enemies think him too much so. His army is in a very demoralized and chaotic condition, and will not be prepared

¹ Walker, C. S. A.,—*Battles and Leaders*.

for offensive operations — or he will not think it so — for three or four weeks. Before this time I hope to be on the Susquehanna.”

Yet, at the very time Lee was telling his general that McClellan would give him a start of “three or four weeks,” which would insure the success of the invasion, McClellan was putting his army in motion to repel Lee, and this spelled the ruin of the Confederacy. As Childe, the nephew and biographer of Lee, expressed it, “All hope of seeing this magnificent project realized vanished before the rapid march and prompt attack of McClellan.”

A study of the map will show the far-reaching danger of this plan of General Lee for invading the North and cutting the most important lines of communication. The physical damage to the whole Federal military structure would have been a disaster. There can be no doubt in this respect. But in addition to all this, another grave danger impended if the Confederate invasion had been successful. This was the one time in the Civil War when there was an actual threat of recognition of the Confederacy by Great Britain, and Southern victory in this campaign of September 1862 was a bid for recognition by Great Britain, and also by the French Empire as a matter of course.

From the first, Lee himself had always maintained that European assistance was necessary to win independence for the Southern Confederacy. His biographer, Long, quotes General Lee unmistakably in this regard: “I have never believed we could, against the gigantic combination for our subjugation, make good, in the long run, our independence, unless foreign powers should directly or indirectly assist us.”

Acting upon this conviction, General Lee resolved to make his invasion of the North a bid for European recognition of the independence of the Southern Confederacy. General Lee felt perfect confidence that his invasion would gain a great Confederate victory on Northern soil, and the Southern General wrote to the Confederate President Davis¹ inviting him to join the army — in the words of Longstreet — General Lee’s “deliberate and urgent advice to President Davis to join him and he prepared to make a proposal for

¹ *Rebellion Records*, XIX. Pt. II. 600.

peace and independence from the head of a conquering army."

Lee thought that such a proclamation from the Confederate President, published on Northern territory, would bring about recognition of the independence of the Southern Confederacy, with the inevitable result that European nations would "directly or indirectly assist" the South. This result was eagerly desired by General Lee and he thus made it an important part of his military plan.

The following extract from the biography of Judah P. Benjamin, the Confederate Secretary of State, will show how well founded were these hopes of General Lee.¹

The Authorities in Richmond were heartily in accord with Lee, and, inspired by his confidence, Davis prepared to take the field. . . . The British press considered the Federal cause hopeless, and Lord Palmerston was writing to Lord Russell that the Yankees had "got a very complete smashing," and that, in the probable event of the capture of Baltimore and Washington, the time seemed to have come when his government and France should "address the contending parties and recommend an arrangement on the basis of a separation."

"I agree with you," replied Russell, "that the time has come for offering mediation to the United States government with a view to the recognition of the independence of the Confederates," . . . and Russell advised this course in any event. The more cautious Palmerston replied that "in case the Federal Army again met defeat," then would be the time to act, but if not, "We may await awhile and see what may follow." . . .

What followed was the news of the great battle of Sharpsburg or Antietam, and the checking of General Lee. Though it was not a very costly defeat, the prime object of his campaign had been lost and he must seek safety on his own side of the Potomac.²

Lee's retreat into Virginia changed the situation at once. Instead of being regarded as a victorious nation the South became again a part of the United States in revolt, in spite of the zeal of the Confederate sympathizers in England.

¹ Butler, *Judah P. Benjamin*. "The Confederate emissaries in London had access to excellent sources of information; far better, indeed, than those at the command of Mr. Adams." Charles Francis Adams, *C. F. Adams*.

² Butler, *Judah P. Benjamin*. See C. F. Adams, *A Crisis in Downing Street*, *Proceedings*, XLVII. 372.

For, most important of all in moral effect upon Great Britain, the victory in the Antietam campaign had put the President of the United States in a position to issue the Emancipation Proclamation (September 22, 1862), which at once justified the Northern cause in the eyes of a great part of the British public, although at first there were bitter outbursts against the proclamation throughout the British press.

The followers of Bright, Cobden, and Forster, who had stood by the Union in spite of the cotton famine, would not have been able to stand up against a successful Confederate invasion of the North; but, with the Southern army driven back into Virginia, and with the Emancipation Proclamation before the eyes of the British public, it was an entirely different situation.¹ In answer to Gladstone's speech in favor of the Confederacy, a member of the Palmerston-Russell ministry, Sir George Cornewall Lewis, pointed out in a speech at a public meeting at Hereford, October 14, 1862, that: "It could not be said the Southern States of the Union had *de facto* established their independence," and that they were not in a position to be recognized.

In September, when Palmerston and Russell were confident of an approaching Confederate victory, a Cabinet meeting had actually been called for October 23, with the definite purpose of considering the recognition of the Confederacy. But to quote from the biography of Benjamin again, "The Cabinet meeting was postponed, and with it the question of Southern independence." This "postponement" was forever! The opportunity was lost, for never again was the Confederacy able to take the offensive with hopes of victory.

The Southern account then says that, after Lee's defeat, the American Minister was at last in a strong enough position to intimate "indirectly" ² that recognition of the Confederacy meant breaking off diplomatic relations.³ The

¹ "Meanwhile Lincoln, taking advantage of it in the same way that the Confederates had hoped to do, had issued his Proclamation of Emancipation."—Butler, *Judah P. Benjamin*.

² Butler, *Judah P. Benjamin*.

³ Mr. Adams got to the "real object in the interview": "If I had entirely trusted to the construction given by the public to a late speech, I should have begun to think of packing my carpet bags and trunks."—Charles Francis Adams.

Palmerston and Russell Ministry saw plainly that the tide had turned, and recognition of the Confederacy was no longer a part of their policy. In the words of the organ of the disappointed Confederate agents: "Therefore the ministry does nothing, because nothing is the only thing which the different sections will agree to do."

A son of Charles Francis Adams, the American Minister to England, confirms the Southern version in every particular, as will be seen from the following extracts: ¹

The *Alabama* sailed for Liverpool on July 29, 1862, just after McClellan's reverses in the Peninsula, and on September 14 London heard the news of the Second Battle of Bull Run. Taking these disasters together, it seemed, in Europe, as probable that the North had been overcome, and Lord Palmerston inclined to think that Washington must fall. On this supposition he wrote to Lord Russell that it might be judicious "to recommend an arrangement upon the basis of separation." Lord Russell waited a few days to see what would happen, and then replied that "whether the Federal army is destroyed or not," Great Britain should "recognize the Southern States as an independent state," and should arm Canada accordingly.

In September, 1862, the Northern fortunes fell to their lowest point, and conversely, the aggressive temper of England culminated. Lord Palmerston's view fluctuated with the fluctuation of the war, like a barometer. . . . On September 17 McClellan won the victory of Antietam. Instantly, while Lord Palmerston cooled, Lord Russell took to equivocation. . . . Meanwhile the proposition which Lord Palmerston had made to Lord Russell touching intervention remained to come before the Cabinet, and on October 2, in reply to a letter from Earl Russell, Lord Palmerston wrote that had the South continued its successes against the North, mediation might have been opportune, but that recently those successes had been checked. Therefore it would be wise to wait. . . . On October 23 the Cabinet met . . . but that day Lord Palmerston's opinion prevailed, and nothing was done. . . .

Nor did Gladstone stand alone in recognizing that the onset of the English aristocracy had collapsed with the repulse of Lee at Antietam. By a subtle instinct all Europe and America became conscious of a change of status. It was the United States now which pressed on England, not England on the United States. The dates fit with an astonishing precision. . . .

¹ Brooks Adams.

Hitherto Mr. Adams' work had been chiefly defensive. . . . He had indeed made energetic remonstrances in regard to the escape of both the *Florida* and the *Alabama*, but in neither case had he gone so far as to put a pressure, even verging on coercion, upon England to do her duty. He reached that point on the day when Great Britain admitted to herself that she dared not strike the North after a victory.

In the meantime the Emancipation Proclamation was taking a stronger hold on the British public, and the "Exeter Hall influence"¹ had grown too important for any Ministry to challenge. Yancy complained that, from this time in Great Britain, the question became merely one of "internal politics,"² and the attempt of Slidell to organize a demonstration for recognition in the House of Commons in 1863 was a dismal failure. In fact, never after Antietam was there a chance for recognition. Consequently, we must realize that the victory of Antietam not only ended the power of the friends of the Confederacy in Great Britain, but it also gave the control to Bright, Cobden and Forster, the friends of the Union.

This phase of the situation has not been sufficiently realized. It was true that the real friends of the North in Great Britain would have continued to oppose recognition of the Southern Confederacy, but, as has been shown, it is now established that the friends of the South had become even strong enough to influence the British Cabinet. After the event, it was all very well to assume that the friends of the Union would have been strong enough to block the recognition of the South by Great Britain. But it is another thing to think of what might have happened, if Lee's plan had succeeded and the Confederate army had reached the Susquehanna, with the Confederate President asking for "independence from the head of a conquering army," as had been arranged by Lee.

Knowing these possibilities, we must recognize that in September, 1862, the crisis was real and imminent. In America our physical military danger never was so great in the Civil War, and in Great Britain the friends of the

¹ *Life and Times of W. L. Yancy.*

² C. F. Adams, *Charles Francis Adams.*

South were at their strongest, with a definite plan for recognition and great influence in the British Cabinet. The Northern victory at Antietam unmistakably turned the scale¹ — and forever.

If one stops to consider what success or failure in this campaign meant to the North and the South, it will be easy to realize that it actually was the crisis of the Civil War when Lee invaded Maryland. In the words of the Benjamin biography: "Here was the critical moment for the Confederacy both in its military affairs and in its hopes of Great Britain's recognition."

This issue at stake in Europe, in addition to the military results in America, must be kept constantly in mind when studying the Antietam campaign. Success in this invasion of the North meant a disastrous cutting of the most important Federal communications, with far-reaching results that must have followed. It must also be admitted that there was a strong influence in the existing British Cabinet to respond to a successful Southern invasion of the North by formal recognition of the Southern Confederacy. Consequently success for the South meant a double victory, in America and in Great Britain. Conversely, the repulse of the invasion by the Federal forces, that drove back the Southern army into its own territory, meant the end of both these hopes for the South, and in fact the end of any hopes of Confederate victory, as the Emancipation Proclamation was also a result of the defeat of Lee's invasion, and this put the Northern cause on a winning basis. Of course all this was not apparent at the time, and even to this day has not been clearly set forth in any history of the Civil War.

With such great dangers impending, McClellan's decision to take the army into the field against Lee's invasion was the most momentous of the war; especially when we remember that McClellan's command was only given for the defense of Washington, and the War Department could not be persuaded to believe McClellan was right in maintaining that Lee would invade Maryland.

As has been explained, Lee entered the campaign of

¹ "Unknowingly, and with the narrowest possible margin of safety, the crisis had been passed." — C. F. Adams, *Charles Francis Adams*.

Antietam with high hopes for the Confederate cause. He knew the great results that would inevitably follow a Southern victory, and he was confident that McClellan would not be able to get the defeated Union Army in hand in time to oppose the Confederate invasion.

Jackson's advance force of the Confederate invading army crossed the Potomac into Maryland, September 5, 1862, using the fords near Leesburg. Jackson was to capture Harper's Ferry, and then rejoin Lee's army, following the plan of invasion which has been given. Lee's main army also crossed the Potomac, and on September 8 was near Fredericksburg, Maryland.

From this place, never imagining that there was any danger of a movement against him, General Lee on September 8 issued his proclamation "To the People of Maryland," urging them to make common cause with his army. On the same day he had sent his letter to President Davis urging him to join the Confederate Army on Northern soil. Lee was supremely confident of the results here and abroad, and did not think a Union offensive was possible.

Yet, what Lee thought impossible, McClellan actually accomplished. Not only was McClellan able to move the Union troops into an unexpected offensive, but the Northern General began this offensive before Lee had any time at all to carry out his ambitious project.

As we have seen, McClellan, the very day after being given the command (September 3), had promptly ordered the 2d, 9th, and 12th corps north of the Potomac, ready to act against an invasion of the North. McClellan added to these the 1st and 6th corps and Couch's division of the 4th corps, with Pleasonton's division of cavalry to cover the advance, and on September 7 this entire force was on the march to oppose Lee. This fact was so utterly contrary to all Confederate calculations, that the Southern leaders were not able to conceal their astonishment, after the event. As Longstreet expressed it: "At this very time (September 8) the recently displaced commander, General McClellan, reinstated in command, was marching for an opportunity to recover his good name." The one possible move was being made that meant a double defeat for Lee's far-reaching plans — defeat in America and defeat in Europe.

But, it must be kept in mind, so far was the Administration from realizing the situation, that throughout the Antietam campaign McClellan was showered with telegrams from Halleck, telling him that Lee's move was a feint to draw him from Washington.¹

It was most fortunate for the Union cause that McClellan did not allow himself to be held back by this constant misinformation from the War Department, nor was he diverted from his one object of placing his army in front of Lee's Army. Keeping the Potomac on his left flank, he moved steadily to this end, without hesitation or indecision. He marched by easy stages to refresh his troops, reorganizing his army on the march. This added difficulty of reorganizing the defeated Union army must be fully understood. As the Count of Paris expressed it, "McClellan had undertaken a colossal task."

McClellan's accomplishment of this task is summed up in the statement of fact, that he forced the passes of the Blue Ridge Mountains September 14, and was able to interpose the Union army in front of Lee before the Confederate General could get his whole army in hand. Not only this, but Lee was caught in such a cramped position that he was unable to manœuvre. When Lee was thus pinned down to a premature set battle, the whole military and political scheme of the Confederacy was defeated — and this sums up the essential of the whole campaign.

There is no question of the fact that the sudden appearance of McClellan's army was a bolt from the blue for the Confederates. The unmistakable Southern testimony, that Jackson himself could not believe McClellan's army was there in force, is tribute enough to McClellan's unexpected movement. "The trouble was that Jackson could not be

¹ Halleck, U. S. A., to McClellan, U. S. A.: Sept. 9. "the enemy's object to draw off the mass of our forces, and then to attack from the Virginia side of the Potomac." Sept. 11. "I think the main force of the enemy is in your front." Sept. 13. "The enemy will send a small column toward Pennsylvania, so as to draw off your forces, then suddenly move on Washington." Sept. 14. "Scouts report a large force still on the Virginia side—I fear you are exposing your left flank, and that the enemy can cross in your rear." Sept. 16. "I fear now more than ever that they will recross and turn your left, thus cutting you off from Washington."

made to believe that McClellan's whole army was in the movement."¹

General Walker states that Jackson said: "I could not believe that the fire you reported indicated the advance of McClellan in force." General Walker's account of Jackson's surprised comment is even more significant. "Jackson, who was a classmate of McClellan, after a thoughtful silence, said, 'I thought I knew McClellan, but this movement of his puzzles me.'" Is there anything that could be added to show how great was this unexpected achievement of McClellan, especially when one realizes that all the time the War Department had been trying to hold him back and divert him to an imaginary defense of Washington?

As has been said, Lee had detached Jackson to capture Harper's Ferry, which became his easy prey. Halleck had insisted on keeping a garrison in this place in spite of McClellan's warning.² Jackson's capture of Harper's Ferry (September 15) gave a first appearance of success to Lee's campaign, and the news caused great exultation throughout the South. The place was of no strategic value. "It was left severely alone in the Gettysburg campaign — an admission by both sides of its uselessness as a *point d'appui*."³ This is the best measure of its importance.

As was usual in the discussion of details during the first two years of the war, the capture of Harper's Ferry opened a floodgate of argument, after the campaign. The fact escaped notice that it was like the loss of a pawn in certain positions in chess — an apparent advantage to the captor, but with a Nemesis to follow. The harm done to Lee's campaign, by this diversion of Southern forces from the main objective, is not far to seek. The capture of Harper's Ferry had detached Jackson from Lee's army at the critical time of McClellan's unexpected appearance on the field. It thus helped to prevent Lee from manœuvring, because Lee could not get his army in hand.

¹ Walker, C. S. A. "Jackson could not believe that McClellan was before South Mountain." — Henderson.

² "The whole infantry and field artillery force of the garrison might have escaped before the 14th had General McClellan's advice of Sept. 7th and 10th been followed." — Franklin, U. S. A.

³ Longstreet, C. S. A.

When McClellan suddenly appeared, the Southern forces were still separated, and Lee was forced to the alternative of taking up a defensive position, gathering his forces as soon as possible, or of retreating into Maryland. Consequently the capture of Harper's Ferry had really helped to tie Lee's hands.

The advent of McClellan's army, with Lee in this disadvantageous situation, made impossible any of the dazzling manœuvres on the part of the Southern commander, such as were successfully carried out by Lee's lieutenants in other campaigns. He could not, to use the phrase of a Southern general, "draw the enemy to a field wide enough to manœuvre; then call him to his battle!"¹ This time it was Lee himself who was compelled to stand and fight. This decision, which was forced upon Lee, must have been very bitter to the Confederate commander, who always preferred the offensive with freedom to manœuvre; but he was compelled to fight where he was, or concede the defeat of all his vast projects by a retreat into Southern territory.

With these great prizes before his eyes as rewards, Lee naturally chose to fight, and took up the strong position at Sharpsburg, hoping for an inferiority in the Union army or some false move that might give him success, in spite of the fact that he had been brought to bay. But this time no false move was made, and in the deadly struggle that followed the Confederate army was so battered that it was incapable of any fulfilment of Lee's dreams.

It is now self evident that, in the Antietam campaign, the only objective for the Union army was Lee's army, and McClellan fully grasped this. Later it became the fashion to say that the Army of Northern Virginia was the objective of the Army of the Potomac. But never before, nor after, was there so great a necessity to fight and cripple the Army of Northern Virginia. In September, 1862, that Army's mission carried the fate of the Confederacy.

If Lee's Army could only be forced into a battle which would halt his invasion, the cause of the Confederacy was lost. This result was accomplished by the very fact of McClellan's bringing the Union army into position across Lee's

¹ Longstreet, C. S. A.

path. Before studying the account of the Battle of Antietam, the reader must realize that McClellan's feat, resulting in the arrival of the Union army and forcing a battle on Lee, created a military situation which, in itself, nipped in the bud the most dangerous campaign of the Confederacy. The Count of Paris called it: "Defeat for the Confederates in the triple point of view of tactics, strategy and politics."

McClellan had forced the South Mountain range of the Blue Ridge Mountains at Crampton's Gap and Turner's Gap on September 14. This placed his army squarely across Lee's path, at a time when the whole Southern army was not in hand, because of the costly diversion of Jackson to Harper's Ferry, as described. That night Lee made his decision to stand and fight in the hope that some weakness or blunder on the Union side might still enable him to win the great results he had expected from his invasion.

On the 15th the Southern commander took up his position at Sharpsburg facing east, and in the morning of the 16th, he was joined by Jackson's own division (Jones), Ewell's, and Walker's division. Jackson was with them, and was given the command of the Confederate left. Walker's division was sent to the right, of which Longstreet had the command.

The Confederate position was very strong. The left (Jackson) rested on the Potomac, the right (Longstreet) on a bend of the Antietam Creek south of a stone bridge, which was afterwards to be known as "Burnside's Bridge." The Antietam Creek ran north and south, and all the country was difficult.

McClellan spent the 16th in reconnoissance and in arranging his army for attack. Burnside's corps had been moved over to the left, and Burnside had been given command of that wing. Hooker commanded the right wing. McClellan's plan was to attack with his right, to follow with a thrust by his left (Burnside), and to send in his centre as results might give him opportunity.

Hooker's corps (1st) had been moved across the Antietam Creek to attack the Confederate left which rested on the Potomac. McClellan in the afternoon of the 16th was on the ground with Hooker, and agreed, after a survey of the

Confederate position, that Hooker's corps, which had been weakened in the previous campaign, was not strong enough alone for the assault on the morrow.

Consequently McClellan had ordered Mansfield's (12th) corps across the Antietam to reinforce Hooker. This corps was moved over into position near Hooker in the middle of the night, but strangely enough Hooker did not make any effort to consolidate the two corps, or to arrange a combined attack by the two in the morning. It is obvious how necessary concerted action of both corps was for success.

Instead of making any use of his reinforcement, Hooker allowed the assault of his own corps to be delivered as an isolated attack soon after sunrise. The 1st Corps was so near the Southern lines that the Federal troops became involved at sunrise in desultory fighting with the enemy. Hooker followed up this skirmishing with an attack of the 1st Corps, without waiting for the support of the 12th Corps, which was so near at hand.

This attack of Hooker's Corps (1st Corps) did great damage to the Confederates, but his numbers were too small, and after heavy losses on his own part, and without support on his left where he might easily have had it, the Union troops were obliged to draw off. Hooker had been wounded in this obstinate fight and General Meade succeeded to the command of the 1st Corps.

In the meantime the 12th Corps (Mansfield), which had been at Hooker's call since the middle of the night, came to the sound of the firing, but too late to co-operate with Hooker's Corps in its battle. The 12th Corps in turn fought a damaging action with the Confederates assisted by the skilfully posted Union artillery. All authorities agree that the use of artillery by McClellan's army in this battle was most effective.

General Mansfield had been killed at the outset. His place was filled by General Williams, a brave and experienced officer. The fight was obstinately continued, and the Confederates were forced to give way. The Federals crossed the Hagerstown turnpike, and Greene's division gained and held the ground around the Dunker Church.

In these two attacks of the 1st and 12th Corps the Union

losses were great, but fully as great losses were sustained by the Confederates.

Sumner's Corps (2nd) was next in line, but the order to move this Corps was not given until 7.30 A.M. As at Fair Oaks, Sumner at once moved to reinforce the battle on his right. With Sedgwick's division he faced west and pressed forward, passing Greene's troops at the Dunker Church. Sumner's supporting division, on the left of Sedgwick's (French's), had turned more to the south, with Richardson's division on its left — thus leaving a gap and exposing to attack the left flank of Sedgwick's division at a most unfortunate time. It happened at this part of the field that the Confederate divisions of McLaws and Walker were approaching to reinforce the Southern left. Lee had been able to send this timely assistance because of the inactivity of Burnside on his right, as will be explained later.

These troops of McLaws and Walker opened fire at short range upon the exposed left flank of Sedgwick's division, which was badly cut up in a short time, and the division was forced to retire. This division reformed under cover of the Union batteries after losing nearly half of its strength.

The victorious troops of McLaws and Walker attempted to follow up their success with a counter-attack, but they in turn were also cut up and driven back by the Union artillery — McLaws losing nearly forty per cent of his strength. Here again was shown the excellent disposition of the Union artillery in this battle. The advance of the Confederates against its fire was impossible, and it should also be realized that Confederate advances against the original Union positions, which were contemplated at different times,¹ were given up because McClellan's batteries were so well posted.

The other two divisions of Sumner's Corps, French's and Richardson's, which, it will be remembered, had turned farther to the south when Sumner made his attack with Sedgwick's division, became involved at once in a desperate fight with the commands of D. H. Hill and Anderson. Hill's division had already suffered heavy losses in the combats with Hooker and Mansfield, but Hill had been reinforced

¹ Palfrey, U. S. A., etc.

by Cobb's brigade of McLaws' division. Bloody as the fighting had been on the right, it was even more desperate here. The sunken road that runs into the Hagerstown turnpike south of the Dunker Church is known to this day as "the Bloody Lane." When the Confederates were forced back this lane was filled with bodies—and finally the Southern troops fell back in great disorder, "with their morale and organization much impaired."¹ The Union losses were also large, but not so great as those of the enemy.

At this time Franklin came upon the ground with two divisions of the 6th Corps and was anxious to attack, but Sumner very properly advised against hazarding these fresh troops. So Franklin was not allowed to engage.

In the meantime, on the Union left it was a different story. While the fighting on the right was a succession of violent attacks, beginning with Hooker's premature thrust with his unsupported Corps, on the left Burnside remained in an apathy that is impossible to explain. His command, the Union left wing, faced the Confederate right, which lay across the Antietam. The Creek was here spanned by the stone bridge destined to bear Burnside's name. McClellan had told Burnside on the 16th that his command would be expected to cross the Antietam, and he had directed Burnside "to examine all the vicinity of the bridge, as he would probably be ordered to attack there next morning."²

Burnside was ordered to prepare for an assault at seven in the morning of the 17th, and the order to attack followed. Order after order was sent to him without effect, and finally Colonel Sackett was sent to Burnside, and he was ordered to remain until he saw that the bridge was carried—which was accomplished at about one o'clock.

Burnside had made weak attacks upon the bridge, but with characteristic ineptitude he had not even found out that the Antietam was fordable on his front. If all the harm from Burnside's delays had happened in his own part of the field, it would have been bad enough, but General Lee, "with a correct estimate of the lack of enterprise of the Union commander who opposed his right wing,"¹ did not

¹ Ropes.

² McClellan, U. S. A.

hesitate to send McLaws and Walker to reinforce his left. As has been told, the transfer of these troops to the left made possible by Burnside's inactivity, brought about the defeat of Sedgwick's division.

Burnside did not command in person his own (9th) Corps at any time in the battle, as he had turned over the command to General Cox. After carrying the bridge General Cox assaulted the Sharpsburg Heights beyond it, and at about three o'clock the Heights were also carried, but the Union troops were in turn driven back by the fresh command of A. P. Hill brought over from Harper's Ferry. The 9th Corps retired to the neighborhood of the bridge, where they "bivouacked for the night."¹ This ended the battle.

As might be gathered from the desperate nature of the combat, the battle of Antietam was the bloodiest day's fighting in the Civil War. The battle was a series of attacks and counter-attacks of the most deadly description. There was no attempt to take shelter by intrenching. The different commands were flung against one another in a way that was sure to entail great losses on each side. In fact the troops of both armies were fought to the point of exhaustion, with the exception of the 5th and 6th Corps, and the cavalry of the Union Army, which were held in reserve against a possible disaster in any part of the battle.

The Union losses were 11,657.² The Confederate losses 13,724.¹ The Union losses in killed and wounded were greater than those suffered by the Confederates — which was natural, as the Federals were the attacking army. But there was no Union loss of prisoners, and the number of Southern prisoners (approximately 6,000) accounts for the greater total of Confederate losses.³

This battle is open to the criticism common to many battles where attacks have been made along an enemy's front — there was not enough co-ordination in the attacks. Waterloo is an example of this; Malvern Hill and Gettysburg are notable instances of such battles in the Civil War.

¹ Ropes.

² Livermore, U. S. A., *Numbers and Losses*.

³ 13 guns, 39 Colors, upwards of 15,000 stand of small arms and more than 6,000 prisoners. — McClellan, U. S. A. report.

For this McClellan, as commander-in-chief, must bear the blame, but he was unfortunate in the unexpected conduct of his two lieutenants, Hooker and Burnside. Both of these officers had soldierly qualities, but the later history of the war proved that both were deficient in the qualities needed to direct large bodies of troops in action.

The exhausted armies were in no condition to renew the struggle on the next day. Although Lee could not bear to give up his great objects, it was evident that a renewal of the battle on the part of the battered Confederate army was out of the question.¹

The Federal army had been reinforced on the forenoon of the 18th by the divisions of Couch and Humphreys and the wisdom of a new Union assault is more open to debate. But was there any result to be gained that would be worth the inevitable losses, and worth the risk of some mischance? The main object of the campaign had been accomplished. Lee's army was crippled, and his invasion ended. It is more probable that there was greater risk of loss than possibility of additional gain for McClellan.

On the Confederate side Lee, who clung to the last hope, was finally persuaded by the generals of his broken army that his case was hopeless — and the Southern army retreated across the Potomac into Virginia in the night of the 18th. Its objects in America and Europe had been defeated — the North had parried the most dangerous blow of the war.

The size of Lee's army in his first invasion of the North has been usually understated, even to a greater degree than the common habit of giving the minimum strength of a Confederate army.² Many ardent writers, over-anxious to give Lee credit for his bold move, have cut his numbers down to a point that would make his invasion an act of folly. They forget that justice to Lee demands the recognition of a sound military plan of invasion, not of a raid with numbers insufficient to accomplish a military result. It is the reverse of praising Lee, to say that he invaded the North with 50,000 men. On the contrary, Lee realized his great

¹ "This was found to be out of the question." — Ropes.

² Grant, etc.

opportunity to gain decisive results, and brought into his campaign an army strong enough to win success, if he had not been forced into a premature battle by McClellan.¹

It is very rarely that the size of a Confederate army can be determined from official figures. As was to be expected, most of the Southern records were lost or in great confusion. But it happens that there is in existence an official field return of the Army of Northern Virginia which proves beyond a doubt that Lee's army of invasion was much larger than the usual estimate.

This return is here given.

ABSTRACT FROM FIELD RETURNS OF THE ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA,
COMMANDED BY GEN. ROBERT E. LEE, FOR SEPTEMBER 22 (1862):

Command	Present for duty Offs.	Enlisted Men	Aggregate present
Longstreet's Corps			
General Staff	11		11
McLaws' division	269	3,659	4,018
Jones' division	350	3,460	4,403
Anderson's division	389	4,935	6,298
Walker's division	221	3,207	3,871
Hood's division	255	2,592	2,847
Evans' brigade	40	516	556
Lee's & Walton bat. of art.	39	632	677
TOTAL	1574	19,001	22,681
Jackson's Corps			
D. H. Hill's division	332	4,739	5,821
A. P. Hill's division	342	4,435	5,468
Ewell's division	298	3,144	4,066
Jackson's own division	186	2,367	3,484
TOTAL	1158	14,685	18,839
GRAND TOTAL	2732	33,686	41,520

Note on Original Return.—This return is very imperfect, the cavalry and reserve artillery not being reported. *War Records*, XIX. 2. 621.

This return was made before Lee had been reinforced, and before he had recovered any of the stragglers which he had lost in the Antietam campaign. On the contrary, as Lee himself wrote on the very day before this return, the

¹ "Gen. Lee recognized the fact that his plans had been thwarted by this premature engagement."—Walker, C. S. A.

Army of Northern Virginia had continued to lose strength from "this evil which has increased instead of diminished."¹ In fact, so alarming had become these continued defections from straggling, that again on September 23, the day after this return, Lee wrote to the Confederate Secretary of War that "unless something is done the army will melt away."

Consequently Lee's own words, written at the time, make it certain that the equivalent of every man "present for duty" in the above field return of September 22, had been in the invasion of Maryland, and every such man must have been in Lee's army on the day of Antietam. This is understating the case — for there had been no accessions but many defections after the battle.

Taking the bare total of "present for duty" September 22 we	
have	36,418
Adding Reserve Artillery (less losses) ² ..	912
and Cavalry (less losses) ³	5,761
Losses at South Mountain	1,885
Losses at Antietam	13,724
TOTAL	58,700

This total of 58,700 must have been in the invasion, as every man is accounted for — being "present for duty," or among the losses in battle. But this total does not include Lee's losses by straggling, which all authorities agree were very large. The demoralization and losses of the Army of Northern Virginia from straggling will be more fully considered later, but it can be said with certainty that these stragglers could not have been less than 10,000. The number was probably even greater.

From these premises, which are true beyond a doubt, we are forced to the conclusion that Lee must have had an army of over 65,000 for his invasion of the North. Longstreet, in his book, admits that Lee's army was "slightly over 61,000."

As to Lee's army at the Battle of Antietam, even conceding that he had lost every straggler before the battle —

¹ Lee, C. S. A., to Davis, September 21, 1862. *War Records*, XIX, Pt. I. 142.

² Livermore.

³ *Ibid.*

which is out of the question — these figures prove that Lee must have had at least 56,815 effectives on the day of the battle. This will be seen at once when we realize that the first total of 58,700 must have been in Lee's army September 17, with the exception of the losses at South Mountain. These were 1885, and taking these losses from the total of 58,700 gives 56,815 men who must have been in Lee's army on September 17th, the day of the Battle of Antietam. Of course the fact that numerous stragglers who were lost after the battle makes it certain that Lee's effectives exceeded this number, but these figures, which cannot be disputed, show the folly of the erroneous statements of Lee's strength which have been given wide credence.

No one can blame a good old Confederate for making the odds between the armies as large as possible. Yet a statement giving the Confederate strength as 35,255¹ becomes a joke, when the simple subtraction of only the losses in the Battle of Antietam (13,724) would have left Lee with the total of 21,531. In view of the existence of this official return what could be more ridiculous? Yet this was a sample of war-time enthusiastic writing.

Lee himself gave color to these tales by saying that the battle was fought by less than forty thousand men on the Southern side — evidently accepting the versions of his lieutenants, A. P. Hill, D. H. Hill, Hood, McLaws, Jones, etc., each of whom seemed to try to make out his own command a mere skeleton, and to make no attempt to reconcile such statements with the actual official figures.

But what can be said of a recent "historian" like Henderson, who calmly gives Lee 41,000 at Antietam? The same deadly subtraction of the losses in the battle would leave Lee about as badly off as at Appomattox! Henderson also distinguished himself by classing Antietam as a Confederate victory — a victory that defeated Lee's whole campaign!

Nothing could be more misleading than such statements of Confederate numbers. Yet these obviously incorrect figures have been seized upon to give point to arguments about the battle. Even such an earnest historian as Ropes "thought best in the text"² to adhere to his estimate that

¹ Taylor, C. S. A., *Four Years with General Lee*.

² Ropes, *The Campaigns of 1862*.

"the Confederate infantry . . . did not exceed 31,200 men or thereabout. Adding the Confederate cavalry and artillery . . . we have a total of 39,200 men." Yet in a note to his chapter on the Battle of Antietam, Ropes computes from the return of September 22, and arrives at "a total of 58,000 men present for duty on the morning of the battle" — a strange case of an able historian so imbued with an idea that he must retain it in his text, even after it had been proved untrue and he had been obliged to make the correction in a note.

McClellan in his report had gone to the other extreme, in contrast to Lee, and had given his total strength ("on paper") of 87,164. This was seized upon, and used by various writers as if it had really been a report of effectives. Palfrey calls it "the famous total in action on which Southern writers to this day ring the changes as if it were absolutely true." The mythical "three to one" version had so taken possession of many prejudiced minds that it was necessary to try at least for a two to one basis. Even this is no longer tenable.

It is a strange fact in regard to the Battle of Antietam, the most misunderstood and most misstated battle of the war, that there should be for once definite official figures which put the matter of Confederate numbers beyond dispute. Yet they exist as matters of official record, and there is no getting away from these deadly figures, which prove that all former estimates made on any other basis were worthless.

Colonel Livermore in his *Numbers and Losses in the Civil War* did not fall into any of these errors. In his first table he arrived at 51,844 effectives — in his second 59,284. This author's careful estimates of numbers are probably more reliable than any other's, and Livermore gives the Union effectives as 75,316, which should be accepted as very close to the true total. These figures of Confederate and Federal strength at once put the conditions of the battle on the right basis, and they show that the attacking Union army had no overwhelming superiority, which would make it stronger than the superiority in numbers recognized as a necessary condition for an attack.

In one respect, this was the most extraordinary battle of

the Civil War — and one of the most extraordinary in all military history. It would be hard to find an action where the tactical result in the field was so small, and yet the strategic result was so important. At Antietam the Confederate army was barely driven back from its positions, but the actual military results made it the most decisive battle of the whole war. In reality it was the turning point of the war.

In this campaign a Confederate invasion was defeated that was undertaken with high prospects of success, and this invasion was the greatest menace to the North in the whole war. Its dangers have been explained—in fact it was the culminating effort of the original military superiority of the South,¹ the one break through that meant a possible Southern victory in the Civil War. When Lee's army retreated into Virginia depleted and demoralized, it meant the end of all this. Antietam was the "High Tide"—not Gettysburg. From this time on the great resources of the North inexorably asserted themselves, and the South was sure to be defeated.

Of course it was not evident at the time that Antietam was the turning point of the war, but even the accounts that are full of hostile criticism of McClellan plainly show the stunning shock of this unexpected disaster to the Confederacy.²

This is most frequent in Southern writings and in Southern official documents, showing beyond any doubt the complete overturn of all the Confederate hopes. Longstreet wrote: "The razing of the walls of Jericho was scarcely a greater miracle than the transformation of the conquering army of the South into a horde of disordered fugitives before an army that two weeks earlier was flying to cover." It was this demoralization of the Army of Northern Virginia that was the strongest evidence of the extent of their disaster. Their men had got out of control and had straggled from the ranks in great numbers. Lee wrote to the Confederate Secretary of War of "the woeful diminution of the present

¹ "After this date (September 1862) a strong offensive with any chance of success was never undertaken by the enemy."—Dodge, U. S. A.

² It is not therefore an exaggeration to say that he saved the "Northern Cause."—Childe, C. S. A.

for duty in this army. The absent are scattered broadcast over the land.”¹ The Confederate official correspondence also shows that the Southern troops committed depredations, threw away their arms, and threw away their shoes to escape duty² — a great change in two weeks for the conquerors of Pope. In fact this disastrous campaign of two weeks brought demoralization and loss of morale to the Army of Northern Virginia for the only time in its history. Even when this Confederate army was wasting away in the last months of the war its morale was better than just after Antietam.

In the North the President's tribute was impressive. Lincoln said: “When Lee was driven out of Maryland I promised my God I would abolish slavery,”³ and the Emancipation Proclamation was at once issued which put the war on the right basis here and abroad. The importance of the Emancipation Proclamation, in its moral and physical effect on the Civil War, cannot be exaggerated. At home and abroad it at once gave the United States Government a moral strength that exerted a strong military effect upon the war. Moral forces have been proved of great military value, and for the United States it was at least in reality “The Battle Cry of Freedom!” From this time the war was won. The break through of the South had been beaten back, and, as has been explained, the Friends of Freedom in Great Britain had been made dominant by this visible object for the Northern cause in the Civil War.

Yet, although this defeat of Lee's plan in the Antietam campaign had for the first time in the war made the United States strong enough to enact this measure, and although there had been a great sense of relief from danger throughout the North, no sooner was the danger over than the same influences were set to work upon Lincoln, under cover of the same impatient demand that something should be done at once.

The Army of the Potomac had been exhausted by two hard campaigns, and was in no condition to take the field

¹ Lee to Randolph, September 23, 1862. *War Records*, xix. 2, 622.

² *Ib.*, xix. 2, 617, 618, 629.

³ James Freeman Clarke.

at once. It has been a recognized axiom that there is a time, after such exhausting service, when an army must be given a rest, to provide a chance to rebound from the strain that has been endured. The Army of the Potomac was then at this stage,¹ and it would have been unreasonable to call upon its personnel for another effort at once. On the other hand, it was not realized that the Army of the Potomac had accomplished the one necessary military result of so smashing and battering Lee's army that it had destroyed all powers of offensive for the Army of Northern Virginia at the crisis of the Civil War, when the South must win an offensive or lose the war.

It must again be emphasized that this result of destroying the Confederate offense was the logical object for the North in 1862. The resultant enforced inactivity was all to the disadvantage of the South — not to the disadvantage of the North, as the Northern forces were being gathered to hem in the South.

For these reasons the impatient clamor in the North was not justified. But the complaints were persistent enough to undermine Lincoln's confidence, and on the eve of another campaign McClellan was relieved, and Burnside was made Commander-in-Chief of the Army of the Potomac — one of the most inexcusable blunders of the Civil War.

All that can be said in excuse, is that the North was still at the impatient stage of the war, and this impatience was used as a means to an end by the element that unfortunately dominated the War Department. With Stanton as Secretary and Halleck as Commander-in-Chief of the Army, there was no guiding wisdom. These very men, who had given up Washington as lost and vainly tried to hold McClellan back from his march against Lee, again interfered, after the situation had been saved, and handed over the Army of the Potomac to incompetents and disaster.

Longstreet's words described the benefits for the South of this costly error of the Northern Administration: "The

¹ "He had under him many troops, and his best . . . were exhausted by labours such as critics oftener impeach than perform. In almost all campaigns a similar criticism may be passed, — after the event. There is always a term to the endurance and activity of armies and their commanders." — Dodge, U. S. A.

change was a good lift for the South, however; McClellan was growing, was likely to exhibit far greater powers than he had yet shown, and could not have given us opportunity to recover the morale lost at Sharpsburg as did Burnside and Hooker." The same thing was even more forcibly expressed by General Palfrey, and this was most striking because it came from one of the severe Northern critics of McClellan: "Not to mention such lamentable failures as Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville, it is easy to believe that with him in command, the Army of the Potomac would never have seen such dark days as those of the Wilderness and Cold Harbor."¹

For the choice of Pope, plainly unsuited to command though he was, there was at least the prestige of a military success; but it is hard to find any excuse for Stanton's and Halleck's successive choices of Burnside and Hooker to command the Army of the Potomac. Both had already shown unmistakably their inability to command large bodies of men, which afterwards brought on the tragedies of Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville.

The Northern public was destined many times to see far longer delays forced upon the Army of the Potomac to repair defeats. And under Meade and Grant, the North was compelled to learn from long and bitter experience the real meaning of the phrase, so often used, "to capture or destroy Lee's army." Yet, even after these object lessons, there were many wartime writers who claimed that McClellan should have accomplished the one or the other in the Antietam campaign. It can now be said that the critics, who held that Lee's army should have been captured or destroyed at Antietam, are nearly extinct. The lessons of warfare have shown that Antietam was not a military situation where complete destruction of an army was probable. This was an army in the field, well commanded by Lee and his able lieutenants. There were no possibilities of enveloping or converging forces, that would have hemmed in and prevented Lee from withdrawing his army when too hard pressed.

In the wartime writings, and for years after the Civil

¹ *Antietam and Fredericksburg.*

war, the capture of an important order of General Lee's, showing the disposition of the Southern forces, has been made the reason for this claim that Lee's army should have been destroyed. This "Lost Order" discussion, like many other disputes over the details of tactics of different operations, has clouded the broad issues in the crisis. Even if a more prompt push forward of the Union forces through the passes had been made and McClellan's army had attacked earlier, when Jackson's force was detached, is there much probability that greater damage would have been done to Lee's army than in the actual battle? Why should we assume that, in case of an earlier attack, Lee would have stood his ground and allowed his army to be overwhelmed in detail? To put the Confederate army to flight, would have been no military result that could compare in value with the disabling losses that were suffered in the Antietam battle.

The point which was missed was the fact that, as the battle was actually fought, Lee gathered his army for a desperate effort to win the objects of his invasion. He hoped for some good fortune that would gain victory, in spite of the fact that he was pinned down to a premature battle in a position where he could not manœuvre. This involved Lee's whole army in a losing battle, in which it was so shattered and demoralized that it could fight no more. He was compelled to give up all his ambitions, and the battle had crippled his army. It is hard to find anything worse that could have happened to the Southern General, even if his army had been forced to retreat by an earlier attack. The fact, in itself, that he was emboldened to stand and fight was the best military result for the North. Not only were the objects of Lee's invasion defeated, but the Army of Northern Virginia had sustained the greatest losses of its career.

On the other hand, in case there had been a more hurried movement of the Union Army, the chances of some disaster to the Northern forces must be kept in mind. It was no time for taking the slightest chance of getting the army out of hand, or for allowing the possibility of a part being cut up through some blunder. This was one occasion when

careful preparation was most essential — as there would have been no other defense left for the North, if there had been a disaster for the Army of the Potomac in this campaign. This possibility should be left out of the question, the crisis was too grave. A sure solution of the problem was the only one permitted in this case.

In this great emergency, it must be recognized, McClellan's difficult problem was to defeat Lee's dangerous offensive with a Union army that had just been badly beaten, and was thought paralyzed for the time by the Southern commander. McClellan found the one correct solution, not to be held back by Washington, not to be diverted into any side issues, but to bring the Northern army at its full strength upon Lee's army so far ahead of all Confederate calculations, that he forced Lee to fight the premature battle at Antietam. This premature battle forced upon Lee was the one way to beat back the invasion, and no other chance should have been taken. Fortunately McClellan played the sure game, and Lee's army was forced back into Southern soil. Here was the crisis of the war, and upon McClellan's conduct of this campaign under every disadvantage, and the great result to the Northern cause, the verdict of impartial history will be beyond dispute.¹

Strangely enough, the Antietam campaign also had its parallel later in the war, like McClellan's problem of the Seven Days, although the ground was not the same, as was Grant's at Gaines' Mill. The Gettysburg campaign found the Union army again opposing an invasion of the North. It is true that Lee's second invasion implied no such menace as his first. In 1863 there was no hope of foreign intervention, no invitation for Davis to join the Southern army on Northern soil.

In contrast to the Confederate invasion of 1862, Lee's Gettysburg campaign was a desperate raid to bolster up Confederate credit. Vicksburg was at its last gasp,² and

¹ "We feel convinced that impartial history will render justice to the really extraordinary results he obtained through his activity, the precision of his orders, and the prestige of his name, in leading to the pursuit of a victorious enemy the routed bands he had rallied in sight of the capital." — Comte de Paris.

² Vicksburg surrendered July 4, 1863.

the greater strength of the North had become evident. Lee's campaign reflected these conditions. In contrast to his first invasion, he seemed to have had no definite plans, apparently thinking his only chance of success lay in some blunder of his opponent. It is hard to explain the Gettysburg campaign on any other grounds.

After his defeat at Gettysburg, Lee again withdrew his army into Virginia, just as he had done before after Antietam, and again he was able to retreat without interference. But, this time, although there was friction between Meade and the Administration, there was no arbitrary removal from the command. The Northern public had learned that there were worse evils than "delays."

If we put aside all the political and controversial part of our Civil War histories, and think only of the broad military situations and military events of 1862, the conviction is forced upon us that McClellan was a most necessary man at the time. In fact he possessed the abilities that the time required. The actual tests of war for Halleck, Pope, Burnside, and Hooker, certainly proved that there was no one else at hand who could have averted disaster in these two fateful emergencies, when McClellan was called upon to act.

The qualities in McClellan, which were most criticised, were his caution, his excessive care in preparation, and his "slow" operations and "delays." He undoubtedly laid himself open to these criticisms. But it must be remembered that he was called to command at the early impatient stage of the war, when the North did not realize its great tasks, and was clamoring for quick results. Now that we realize the impossibility of an immediate military conquest of the South, we are obliged to form a very different estimate of the cost to the North of the initial "delays." Knowing the need of gathering the forces of the North, before the first advantage of the South could be overcome, it is now evident that the time spent in organizing the army could not have been so well utilized in any other way.

Yet it was the exasperation caused by the "delays" in organization that aroused the hostility to McClellan. It is now clear that the organization of the Army of the Potomac was accomplished in a wonderfully short time, and

this unprecedented task was performed in such a thorough manner that the Army of the Potomac maintained its organization and morale, even throughout the fearful blunders of McClellan's successors in command.

The outstanding fact cannot be ignored that McClellan did not blunder himself, and, in either of his two campaigns of 1862, a blunder would have been fatal, so great was the emergency for the North in each case. This has been overlooked in the impatience caused by McClellan's "slow" movements. In the Peninsula campaign, it is now known, McClellan's army was never for a day strong enough to take Richmond against the forces defending the city. Yet "caution" and "delays" were hastily assumed to have prevented the accomplishment of some miracle by the Army of the Potomac.

Of course, the truth was, it was not a question of the days or weeks taken for the operations. It was a question of giving McClellan enough troops in the Peninsula — and these were denied him to the end. On the other hand, when Lee's concentration against McClellan was permitted to take place without sending reinforcements to McClellan, and the Army of the Potomac was in grave danger of destruction, McClellan rose to the emergency and saved his army in the brilliant movement by the left to the James.

It was the same story in the Antietam campaign. McClellan's immediate move against Lee was the only possible means for averting a crisis in the war. McClellan made this quick decision against all opinion of the War Department, which tried to hold him back from its execution. McClellan put his army in Lee's path weeks before Lee thought it possible, and decisively defeated the Confederate invasion. Yet again the question of a day here or a day there was allowed to blur the issue.

It can truly be said, with all due acknowledgment of his faults, that the very qualities in McClellan which were most criticised, were the ones most needed at the first of the war against the fresh and vigorous South. His completeness of preparation and sound strategy were essential. His "delays" gave the Army of the Potomac an organization that stood the test throughout the Civil War. In the Peninsula

campaign his skill fought off the full strength of the Confederacy, when there was no chance for Union success. In the Antietam campaign he defeated the only dangerous offensive of the South, acting with an energy and decision that showed the sound strategic sense that lay underneath his "delays," "overpreparation," and "engineer tactics" — all of which were catch words in the first controversies that followed the events.

Studies of the actual military facts show that, in the two fighting emergencies of McClellan's career, his decisions were two of the boldest of the war — the move by the left to the James in the Peninsula Campaign, and the move to place the Union Army in front of Lee at Antietam. Each of these accomplished the unexpected and disconcerting result of placing Lee in a position where this most resourceful of Southern generals was unable to manœuvre. Lee never forgot these two unexpected defeats for his plans, and Lee's own words are unmistakable. "I asked him (General Lee) which of the Federal commanders he considered the greatest, and he answered most emphatically, 'McClellan by all odds.'"¹

This does not mean that Lee challenged, for instance, the recognition that Sherman had won in the Civil War. But this was the enforced tribute paid by the brilliant Southern leader to the one general whose sound strategy had reduced Lee's brilliancy to commonplace lack of success. This is a phase of the strategy of the Civil War that has never been sufficiently understood. It has been widely acknowledged that, with Lee and his group of lieutenants, the Confederates at the outset had military leadership that has seldom been equaled. The personnel throughout the Southern forces was also unusual. It would be hard to find in history a like case of military forces suddenly called into being with the best leaders in command from the very first.

The natural result was a brilliant showing at first for Lee and his generals, in contrast with slower development of Northern leadership. Yet one fact stands out so plainly that it cannot be mistaken. The bold and dazzling manœuvres of the leaders of the Army of Northern Virginia

¹ Casanove Lee in *Biography of General Lee*, by R. E. Lee, Jr.

were effective against men of the stamp of Pope and Hooker. Against McClellan, in both campaigns of 1862, they fell down completely.

Lee's bringing Jackson from the Shenandoah Valley for his concentration against McClellan in the peninsula was one of his most brilliant conceptions. Against the incompetents in the Valley, Jackson had shone like a destructive meteor. But it certainly was a great contrast, to find Lee and Jackson themselves the bewildered ones in the Seven Days, unable to understand McClellan's move by the left, and doubtful which way to turn. If Jackson had been judged only by his performance in the Seven Days, would his early post-war reputation have been so exaggerated?

Again, in the Antietam campaign, Lee's plan was startlingly bold, with greatest promise of success over a wide field of manœuvre. Yet, in two weeks, Lee was pinned down to a cramped and premature battle. Where were the brilliant manœuvres of Lee and Jackson, against this solution of the problem by McClellan?

It is no wonder that the early hasty judgment of Civil War leaders has been revised. These are military facts — not arguments in controversy — and they show beyond doubt that McClellan neutralized Lee in 1862. This does not imply that McClellan was a Napoleon, but it is now evident that, just after the war, there was a prevailing habit of over-estimating Lee and under-estimating McClellan. The Northern General, who twice baffled Lee in 1862, must at least be recognized as the right kind of a general for 1862.

There is another side of McClellan's two campaigns of 1862 that has not been appreciated, the amount of damage done to the Army of Northern Virginia. Outside of the great wastage which has been explained, the actual battle losses of the Army of Northern Virginia were over 44,000.¹ This was such a severe drain, that, even with all the resources of the Confederate conscription, Lee's army never again approached the strength that it was able to bring into the field at the be-

¹ Confederate battle losses in McClellan's two campaigns of 1862: Williamsburg, 1,703; Seven Pines (Fair Oaks), 6,134; Seven Days, 20,614; Antietam Campaign, 15,609; total, 44,060. Livermore, *Numbers and Losses*.

ginning of the Seven Days. When these losses have been summed up, it is easy to understand why there was no danger of a Confederate offensive after the "horror of Fredericksburg."¹

Consequently, when regarded from the point of view of those who held that hard fighting, and inflicting heavy losses on the Confederates, should have been the most important essential of Northern strategy, McClellan's campaigns of 1862 are beyond comparison. There were no other campaigns in the Civil War where so great proportionate damage was done to the Southern forces.

But the real measure of the value of McClellan to the Union is summed up in the fact that his services covered the period of danger to the North. His skill neutralized the original military advantage of the South, and he beat off the full offensive strength of the Confederacy. A disaster in either one of his campaigns would have been ruinous, but under McClellan's command all danger of Southern success was ended. In the words of Colonel Dodge: "After this date (September 1862) a strong offensive with any chance of success was never undertaken by the enemy."

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. SCHAFF, A. B. HART, NORCROSS, J. C. WARREN and DOWSE.

¹ Dodge, U. S. A.

JANUARY MEETING, 1923.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 11th instant, at three o'clock, P. M., Mr. LORD in the chair. The record of the last meeting was read and approved. The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From Henry Hersey Andrew, of New York, a letter written by George Washington to the Committee of Fairfax County, Virginia, dated at Philadelphia, May 16, 1775, which formerly belonged to his father, Gov. John A. Andrew.

From Richard Robins, of Swampscott, Mass., a letter of the Board of War, Massachusetts, Boston, December 18, 1776, to Col. Thomas Crafts, of the Train of Artillery; and other papers relating to the education of Richard Robins (H. C. 1826).

From Louis Curtis, photographic facsimiles of the signatures of the members of the Friday Club.

From Winthrop Wetherbee, several papers, January to August, 1865, on a scheme of colonization in Washington territory.

From Walter Eliot Thwing, a plan of the Highlands, Roxbury, showing the site of the old fort, and region near by, drawn by Stephen Palmer Fuller, November 18, 1825.

From Harvard College Library, several orders of Exercises at Commencement, Cambridge, 1791-1812, and a copy of the *Quaestiones*, 1791.

From the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, *The Boston Gazette*, for October 2, 1744, one of two known copies.

From Frank S. Osgood, the *Newburyport Herald and Country Gazette*, December 3, 1799.

From the late Denison Rogers Slade, of Chestnut Hill, by bequest, signatures, presented to the French Fair, Boston, April, 1871, of several distinguished people.

By purchase, a deed of land in Hatfield, 1686, and some rare broadsides; and a game of historical and descriptive cards, sixty in number, called "Cards of Boston," and compiled in 1831 by Miss Eliza Leslie, an American writer, 1787-1856; also a number of letters from George Ticknor, Mrs. Anne Grant of Laggan, and Edward Everett, to Joseph G. Cogswell, and to Charles S. Daveis, of Portland, 1809 to 1864, and certificates of shares in the Round Hill School, Northampton, April 1, 1833.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following gifts:

From the late Mrs. Daniel Denison Slade, by bequests, through her daughters, Mrs. Theodore P. Burgess, of Dedham, and Miss Margaret Bromfield Slade, of Chestnut Hill, a cloak, wig, and wig-box, cocked hat, knee-breeches, knee-buckles, and shoe-buckles, worn by their great-great-grandfather, Col. Henry Bromfield (1727-1820), of Boston and Harvard, Mass., with a bag of white powder and powder-puff for the wig, and a gold-headed cane used by him, all of which pieces were kept by his granddaughter Mrs. M. B. Blanchard, till 1876. Also, by bequest, from her late son, Denison Rogers Slade, mezzotint engravings of Rev. Samuel Cooper, Rev. Thomas Prince, Rev. John Moorhead, Rev. Benjamin Colman, Thomas Hollis, Sir William Pepperrell, Hon. Thomas Wentworth, Admiral Vernon, Frederick Louis, Prince of Wales, Francis Stephen, Emperor of Germany, and an engraving "Emblem of the United States of America," 1804; also a silhouette by Doyle of Bishop Cheverus, the first Roman Catholic Bishop of Boston; and a wax portrait, probably by Rauschner, of Gov. Caleb Strong; a pair of old-fashioned scales for weighing coin; and a piece of the old elm at Pittsfield, 1864.

From Dr. J. Collins Warren, a photograph of an engraving of Admiral Sir Peter Warren.

From Mrs. Kingswill Marrs, a bronze medal of Captain Pilot Guynemer, struck in 1917, and a silver medal of St. Mihiel.

Henry Winchester Cunningham, of Milton, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

James Benjamin Wilbur, of Manchester, Vermont, was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society.

The Vice-President announced the death of our associate, Endicott Peabody Saltonstall.

Mr. MURDOCK read the following tribute:

Endicott Peabody Saltonstall died on the 19th of December, 1922, in the house in which he was born — a house which for all but five years of his life had been his home. He was the youngest son of Leverett and Rose Lee Saltonstall, and was born December 25, 1872. It is unnecessary to speak of his pedigree, for his family one hundred years ago was regarded in this new land as ancient and respectable. Mr. Saltonstall and his brothers were the eighth consecutive

generation to graduate from Harvard College, and his nephews, the sons of Richard, now constitute the ninth.

Mr. Saltonstall was a member of the Harvard class of 1894, and graduated at the Law School in 1897. Upright and capable in the practice of his profession, he possessed the respect and, to a marked degree, the affection of his associates at the bar. It was not until the last year of his life that he came into any public prominence. He was offered the District Attorneyship of the Northern District, to fill out the unexpired term of a predecessor who had been removed by order of the Supreme Judicial Court. This post he at first refused, but, the matter being strongly urged upon him as a public duty by the Governor of the State and prominent members of the bar, he reconsidered, and at great personal sacrifice undertook the task. His duties were discharged as they always should be discharged by a competent and conscientious prosecuting officer.

It is possible that political lawyers received with incredulity his initial statement that he would not be a candidate for election on the expiration of his term. What he said, he meant; but as the months went by, and candidate after candidate entered the field to dispute for the post he was leaving, he became solicitous that the standards he had tried to establish should not be lowered. He had become impressed with the great responsibilities of the office and, once more impelled by a sense of duty, he ventured to advise the public on the choice of his successor. This he did, not according to approved political methods, but with such modesty, such straightforward honesty, and such evident good-will toward all concerned, that his utterances seemed both unique and refreshing in the midst of a state-wide campaign to which other adjectives might be fitly applied. The man of his choice was a trusted assistant in his official family, of a different racial strain, of different political affiliations and religious belief. None of these considerations weighed with him, and he entered the campaign in support of a candidate whom he believed to be competent, and who would regard public office as a public trust. In the midst of the campaign he was stricken with the illness from which he never rallied. Weary, overtasked, fighting

the fight of the whole community, he died in battle harness.

Mr. Saltonstall married in 1898 Miss Elizabeth Baldwin Dupee, and from that day his home became his first interest and in it he found refuge and strength. Few men of his education and attainments have travelled so little or seen less of the world. A trip to New York was to him a formidable undertaking. His one trip to Europe, made many years ago, served to convince him of the charms of Chestnut Hill. He loved the sea and its literature. He was expert in the handling of small boats, but his voyagings on the high seas were of the fireside variety. Sunny climes and storied lands made little appeal to him, but he knew every corner and shrub on the old place and every tree his father had planted.

Despite his domestic tastes, he was essentially a gregarious man. His intimates were carefully chosen, but he found pleasure and inspiration in his daily contact with all sorts and conditions of men. He served for three years as President of the Union Club. He was interested in children and in youth, and so became President of the Winsor School and also of the Children's Mission. He was charitable in his judgments and sympathetic with the unfortunate, but for humbugs or dishonest persons he had a robust detestation, which he could voice in a thoroughly up-to-date vocabulary.

I recall the day when he told me of his election to membership in this Society. He expressed himself as most appreciative of the honor, but disclaimed in whimsical language any qualifications that entitled him to participate in the deliberations of what he was pleased to style men of learning. We agreed that some men made history, some wrote it, and others had it thrust upon them; and that his family had been represented in all three groups ever since that day in 1630 when Sir Richard came sailing into Boston Bay. He spoke of his father and, I think, his grandfather as having been active members here, and I believe that it was a real gratification to him to represent another generation on our rolls.

Mr. Saltonstall was not, in the strict sense of the term, a student of history, but he was well read in standard historical literature. He followed closely the events of the day and was keenly alive to history in the making. If the present

and the future interested him more than the past, he did not underestimate the benefit of a knowledge of men and of days that had gone. He had a respect for such time-honored organizations as this, as he had reverence and love for the acres upon which he lived. Old friends to trust, old wood to burn, old wine to drink, were sentiments that stirred a responsive chord in him; and as for old books to read, he could have been trusted to make a wise selection.

In the late fall of 1920 he presided at a dinner given by the Union Club to the Vice-President-elect of the United States. He made a short address, in which he reviewed the patriotic inception of that organization, and concluded by hazarding the statement that now, as in the past, the Union Club and its membership stood for what was right. What he said of the Club we may in all honesty say of him.

A MONUMENT TO STEPHEN DAYE

Dr. FARLOW said:

At our January meeting a year ago I presented two sketches with estimates of a monument proposed to be erected in the cemetery in Cambridge to the memory of Stephen Daye, who came to this country in 1638 and established in Cambridge the following year the first printing press in these English colonies.

I was unable to discover where he was buried, nor did anyone seem to know who were instrumental in forwarding this scheme for a monument, the estimates for which named \$25,000 as the price of one design and \$16,000 that of the less elaborate. The sketches were dated August, 1847, and March, 1851, and signed Jos. Carew.

Thanks to a suggestion made to Mr. Tuttle by Mr. Watkins, of the Bostonian Society, I found in the *Boston Transcript* of July 26, 1847, the names of the prime movers in this enterprise. The notice in the paper of that date says: "The meeting of the printing fraternity at Tremont Temple this afternoon to take into consideration the best means to be used for the erection of a monument to Stephen

Daye, who first introduced printing into the United States, must not be neglected by any of the craft."

Mr. Joseph T. Buckingham, of Cambridge, was chairman of the committee to prepare a plan for an association for that purpose and called the meeting to order. The required number of twenty-five having signed, the following officers were chosen: President, Joseph T. Buckingham; vice-president, John Prentiss, of Keene, N. H.; secretary, John Ford, of Cambridge; trustees, of whom at least three must be journeymen printers, Theophilus R. Marvin, Warren Beal, William Nichols, Nathaniel Clark, Ambrose H. Goodridge and David Francis, of Boston and William W. Wheildon, of Charlestown. Henry W. Dutton of the *Boston Transcript* was elected treasurer and undoubtedly had charge of the notices in the papers.

On August 9 it is stated that "no specific plan of a monument has yet been adopted and, consequently, the amount of money needed is not ascertained, but it is intended that it shall be as simple and cheap as shall be consistent with the dignity of the subject — respectful to the memory of the individual whose services it will commemorate and honorable to the character of the Printers of the present day."

At one of the early meetings it had been determined that the allotted subscription for the monument should be not less than \$3 for the master printers, \$1 for journeymen and 50 cents for apprentices. Although practical printers were the ones especially relied on for help, it was distinctly stated that "it is not intended that subscriptions from others shall be rejected. In fact, those who think that the 'preservative art of all arts' should be honored with a suitable monument near the place where it was first practiced in this country, and that the name of him who was its first practitioner should be transmitted with affectionate veneration to a grateful posterity, are welcome to assist."

The sketches calling for from \$16,000 to \$25,000 cannot be called cheap; and as the brunt of the undertaking fell on printers at a rate of \$3, \$1, and 50 cents each, it must have required a very optimistic nature to imagine that this scheme could succeed. It would be hard enough now, in the days of "drives" and hold-ups of every kind, to raise

half the sum named. The notices in the *Transcript* soon came to an end, and as far as I can learn, nothing ever resulted from these plans to erect a monument to Stephen Daye in a cemetery in Cambridge.

WINSLOW WARREN

Mr. LORD then said:

At the January meeting of this Society in 1873 the record shows that Winslow Warren, Esquire, was elected a Resident Member.

Upon the death of Dr. Green on December 5, 1918, Mr. Warren became the senior member of the Society, "thus to his other titles has been added that of Dean of the Society," as Mr. Adams described it.

To-day he completes his first half century of resident membership, ninth in that distinguished list of members of the Society who, since its foundation in 1791, attained the half century mark.

The remarks of the President of the Society in January, 1910, thirteen years ago, on the occasion of Dr. Green's semi-centennial, present all the statistics relating to those members who, before Dr. Green, had attained the fiftieth year of membership, and I need not repeat them. But I may be permitted to recall to your attention the names of two of that goodly company who completed sixty or more years of continuous membership, viz., Josiah Quincy, from July 26, 1796, to July 1, 1864, sixty-eight years, and James Savage, from January 28, 1813, to March 8, 1873, sixty years. Membership here is like an annuity in its aid to longevity. Dr. Green, elected in January, 1860, was the seventh in the list of those who passed the fifty-year mark, and Mr. Charles C. Smith (April 11, 1867–March 20, 1918) was the eighth.¹

¹ Members who completed fifty years of membership are: John Davis, from 1791 to 1847; Josiah Quincy, 1796–1864; James Savage, 1813 to 1873; Robert Charles Winthrop, 1839 to 1894; Rev. George Edward Ellis, 1841 to 1894; Rev. Lucius Robinson Paige, 1844 to 1896; Samuel Abbott Green, 1860 to 1918; Charles Card Smith, 1867 to 1918; and Winslow Warren, 1873 to 1923—nine in all. Mr. Smith alone was not the senior member at the date of attaining the fiftieth year of membership.

To-day the Society formally recognizes the ninth of the semi-centennialists and extends to him its cordial greetings, hearty congratulations, and best wishes for many happy years. We have the good fortune not only of welcoming him here to-day but also of listening to his "Recollections of Fifty Years," which I may add were fifty years of continuous, useful and honorable service.

Mr. KELLEN read the following greeting:

It is peculiarly gratifying to me, after an intimate friendship with Mr. Winslow Warren of wellnigh fifty years — many of them in close association with him — to have the opportunity to felicitate him upon reaching the 50th Anniversary of his membership and service in this honorable Society. I respect him, I admire him, and, if he will allow me to say so, I am fond of him.

We Americans, like the British, have always been peculiarly chary of sentimental expression or of uttering favorable opinions of our intimates or of our fellow men during their lifetime. Recent usage, growing largely out of the bestowal of medals in the Great War, has effected a breach in this racial trait, which it may be hoped will be widened. "Better," as someone has pithily said, "the gift of a rosebud for one's buttonhole while alive than a bushel of roses on one's coffin!"

It is superfluous to say in this circle of friends, that his long career, in the worth and dignity of his private life as well as in the high level of his public service, at once varied and honorable, have added further lustre to the name of Warren in the annals of Massachusetts.

I have always thought, if Fate had called him to the more active practice of the Law, that, with his natural endowment, coupled with the training he received in the office of that great lawyer, his uncle, Sidney Bartlett, together with his industry, his learning, his powers of persuasion and of graceful expression, his tact, and his genuine human quality, he would have gone far. I am the more convinced in this opinion by his handling as sole counsel for the Boston & Providence Railroad, of the suits and claims arising

out of the Bussey Bridge disaster, involving as they did hundreds of thousands of dollars. The most eminent lawyers in the Commonwealth appeared for these claimants. By his patience, his courtesy, his sympathetic and kindly dealing, his considerate firmness, he settled all these cases to the mutual satisfaction of the road and claimant without a single suit being brought before a jury.

Fortunately, however, Mr. Warren's professional pursuits left him the leisure for historical study, for active participation in the reform movements of his day, and for the acceptance and effective filling of public office.

He was first and foremost in all the good work promoted by the Massachusetts Reform Club, was an active participant in starting and steering the "Mugwump" movement which had so much to do with the election of Cleveland to the Presidency, and later was made Collector of the port of Boston and thus President Cleveland's personal spokesman in New England. Mr. Warren's conduct of that office was as brilliant politically as it was exceptionally businesslike. In representing the President he was graceful and in meeting the greedy demands of his political associates he was tactful and conciliatory without sacrificing the public interest. He carried out the principles of Civil Service Reform according to the spirit of the law, recognizing, as did his great Chief, that after generations of the Spoils System, it must be administered with some elasticity to have the support of public opinion. He was exceedingly popular with the merchants of Boston having to do with the customs, because, if the better business method and red-tape clashed, red-tape was made to give way.

He was entitled to membership in that oldest and most distinguished of patriotic societies—the Order of the Cincinnati, and joining it early in life filled acceptably every office in its gift up to that of President General of the National Society.

In this presence it would be most fitting to point out briefly the various ways in which our fellow member during his fifty years of useful membership has served this honorable body, and that without trenching upon his anticipated recollections.

Mr. Warren is the ninth member in the Society's history to complete a membership of fifty years, and no one of these surpassed him in the number, quality and character of his services to the Society. He became a member on January 9, 1873, at the age of thirty-four. In January, 1874, he was elected to the Publishing Committee to print the "Centennial Volume," so called; since which time he has served on seven such committees, and witnessed the issue from the press of thirty volumes of *Collections* and forty-six volumes of *Proceedings*, and seen the Society's small endowment grow to its present size. Nearly every volume of these *Proceedings* contains valuable contributions from his pen, on the Colonial Customs Service, on the American Revolution, on the Annals of Plymouth, tributes to deceased members, Memoirs, and excerpts from his own choice collection of family papers.

He has served from time to time in the Council, on Nominating, Auditing, Finance Committees and on special Committees. In December, 1915, he was elected a Vice-President, and often and gracefully presided, until in 1921, he declined re-election. In a word his service, loyal, valuable, and efficient, has corresponded to the length of his membership, and his interest in the Society has continued warm, lively and unabated to this very day.

Mr. Warren, in conclusion, allow me to extend to you, for the members present, for the Society as a whole, and, if you will allow me, for my humble self, hearty greeting and congratulation and most sincere wishes for your continued good health and well-being, coupled with the deepest respect and the sincere good-will of all those fortunate enough to know you and enjoy your confidence and friendship.

Mr. WARREN then read his

RECOLLECTIONS OF FIFTY YEARS

My first thought when asked to speak at this meeting upon my fifty years' experience as a member of this Society was, how much better and more gracefully it would have been done if the lot had fallen to the gentleman who stands next to me in membership. Yet I may feel a little

pardonable pride that even the accident of a priority election could give me the opportunity to take precedence of Charles William Eliot — in anything.

This browsing in the memories of the past, however interesting it may be, is after all a solemn business, for it can only emphasize a certain loneliness that comes with advancing years.

I know that our old friend Dr. Green — himself a fifty-year member — when a vigorous octogenarian, used to say that old age was the pleasantest time in life, and with his varied and interesting experience in life it well might have been true; but even our genial librarian must have had times of depression as he witnessed the constant vanishing into the unknown of the long list of friends and acquaintances, and of so many to whom he had been accustomed to look for guidance and support.

I was elected to membership in this Society January 9, 1873, so that this day closely corresponds to the termination of fifty years of service. I could not claim that my election was owing to any particular deserts of my own and have ascribed it to the good luck which occasionally meets one in a long career, aided I imagine by the friendly offices of a beloved neighbor of high esteem in this society — that courteous and scholarly gentleman, Edmund Quincy.

I recall my first attendance at the meeting in February, 1873, when I entered the rarefied atmosphere of Boston culture with becoming awe, only to be put at ease by the courtly and genial welcome of the distinguished President, Hon. Robert C. Winthrop. That courtesy and grace never failed him in his long occupancy of the chair and greatly endeared him to all the members of the Society. At the long table with him were Hon. Charles Francis Adams, Senior, Vice-President; Dr. Charles Deane, Recording Secretary; Rev. Chandler Robbins, Corresponding Secretary; Hon. Richard Frothingham, Treasurer; Dr. Samuel A. Green, even then Librarian, and Henry G. Denny, Cabinet-Keeper.

The meeting was held at the rooms of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences at the Athenaeum — the building, 30 Tremont Street, the real home of the Society,

then undergoing alterations which were not completed until the April meeting — so I was spared climbing at that time those two flights of stairs which may have shortened the lives of some of the older members, and which Mr. Winthrop, in resigning the Presidency in 1885, alluded to as one reason for resigning his office and thus his constant attendance.

But what a list of members was then upon the rolls! It is invidious to select, but I may recall a few of the most eminent. For neither before nor since, I think, has there been such a group of men at any one time upon our rolls: Robert C. Winthrop, Charles Francis Adams, Senior, Rev. George E. Ellis, Ralph Waldo Emerson, John Lothrop Motley, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Francis Parkman, James Russell Lowell, Henry W. Longfellow, Charles Deane, Dr. Henry M. Dexter, Richard Frothingham, Richard H. Dana, George Tyler Bigelow, E. Rockwood Hoar, Charles Eliot Norton — I hardly know where to stop, for there were many others hardly less eminent. Of them all that charming exponent of pure English, that scholarly man of rare attraction, Charles Eliot Norton, alone remained to us until a very few years and was known to many of you. All those I have mentioned were present at times at the meetings, except perhaps Mr. Motley, and it is easy to imagine with how much interest and with what close attention they were listened to. I have sometimes thought our meetings then and later were a little less frigid and formal than in more recent years and that the members more freely discussed papers read, but that impression may well have arisen from the eminence of the speakers, and perhaps from a somewhat closer personal intimacy among the members than now, fostered undoubtedly by the frequency with which meetings were held at the houses of the President and other well-known members of the Society.

One of the most interesting meetings was held at the house of Rev. Robert C. Waterston, December 16, 1873, upon the 100th anniversary of the Boston Tea Party. Mr. Winthrop presided and read one of his admirable papers; Dr. Holmes read an original poem; Mr. Richard Frothingham an important historical paper; communications were received

from various members and letters were read from Mr. Longfellow, Mr. William Cullen Bryant and Mr. William T. Davis of Plymouth. The latter gave an account of his interview with Mrs. Priscilla Cotton, who died in Plymouth in 1859, at the age of ninety-nine years, who told him of her visiting Boston when a young girl, staying at a friend's on Milk Street, and of seeing the men go by disguised as Indians to throw the tea overboard. This letter was of special interest to me because when a lad I had called upon Mrs. Cotton and heard from her in detail the same story, and had seen in her possession a bottle of the tea gathered the next morning on the shore of Dorchester Bay, which bottle is now, I believe, in Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth. So nearly connected are the Twentieth and Eighteenth centuries by the span of two lifetimes.

A meeting of almost equal interest was held at the house of Mr. Winthrop on Marlboro Street, March 16, 1876, in celebration of the 100th anniversary of the Evacuation of Boston, and valuable historical papers were read by Dr. G. E. Ellis and others.

Mr. Winthrop retained the Presidency of the Society until April, 1885, when at the end of thirty years service he resigned, although until his death in 1896 he retained his membership and made frequent important communications to the Society. In October, 1889, Mr. Winthrop was present and addressed the meeting upon the completion of his fifty years' membership in the Society. In January, 1891, occurred the 100th anniversary of the formation of the Society and services were held January 24 in the Arlington Street Church, Dr. Green presenting a valuable Centennial Bibliography and an oration being delivered by Col. Thomas W. Higginson, followed by remarks by Mr. Winthrop. In the evening a reception was given by Mr. Winthrop at his house at which sixty-five of the ninety-seven members of the Society were present.

To those of you who knew Mr. Winthrop the recollection will always come of his stately presence, his eloquent speech, his courteous manner and the very great importance of his numerous communications. Our volumes bear conclusive evidence of his scholarship, his constant interest in the

Society and the value of his long service. I recall no one to whom the Society is more deeply indebted. In December, 1894, the last sad tribute was paid to Mr. Winthrop, who had died November 16, and I think at no meeting of the Society ever held were the tributes so numerous and so spontaneous. It is strange that at the very next meeting, in January, 1895, the Society was called upon to mourn the loss of Mr. Winthrop's successor in the Presidency, Dr. George E. Ellis, who died December 20, 1894, and again expressed in heartfelt manner its sense of its very great loss in the decease of so learned and eminent a man.

Time forbids my dwelling upon many interesting meetings but I desire to refer to one or two incidents which may be of interest and of some amusement. In 1888 I was one of a Publishing Committee with Mr. Charles Francis Adams, Senior, and Mr. Richard Frothingham to edit what was called the Centennial Volume of the Society *Collections*, consisting of letters of Washington to Heath and letters of John Adams to John Winthrop.

Those letters not proving sufficient to complete the volume Mr. Adams suggested the inclusion of letters between John Adams and Mrs. Mercy (Otis) Warren in 1807, when both parties were advanced in years, he having Mrs. Warren's letters and I those of Mr. Adams. It appears that Mrs. Warren in her *History of the American Revolution* had commented freely upon Mr. Adams' principles during and after the Revolution. Reading those comments now one would not be at all impressed with their special severity nor by any injustice in them to Mr. Adams; but he was old and irritable and probably suffering from political disappointment. He accordingly addressed to Mrs. Warren ten long letters in an extraordinary tone and often in poor taste, if not insulting. Mrs. Warren replied in a dignified but severe tone and a quarrel resulted between the two old people who had been lifelong friends, a quarrel, however, which was later adjusted through the effort of mutual friends. I will say here that one of the letters, dated July 20, 1807, is of very great historical importance, as it contains Mr. Adams' view of the principles of the Revolution.

While the volume was going through the press Mr. Froth-

ingham called at my office with the proof and asked me if I had read it, especially the Preface which Mr. Adams had drawn. I said I had and thought the English of the Preface was a little strained and we had better see Mr. Adams. We accordingly called on Mr. Adams in his office in Pemberton Square. He looked the proof over and sat back in his chair in a broad laugh, saying that he assumed that no one had tampered with the proof but he had not supposed he could write such bad English, after writing it over five times. He also remarked that he thought the old lady had rather got the better of Mr. Adams. He was then with mental faculties entirely unimpaired and his remarks certainly brought much encouragement to a younger member, that a man of his long experience could have trouble in composing a simple preface.

An incident of one of our meetings in 1885 may afford some amusement in the narration, for it certainly was unique and, however it sounded for the moment, we know that it carried with it no bitter feeling. In 1879 Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., had been elected to membership. He was a man of unusual ability and cultivation and had made a study of New England history, particularly as connected with the Winthrop family. He possessed a pungent and witty style and not uncommonly enlivened his contributions by his use of it.

Dr. George E. Ellis, then Vice-President of the Society, was a member of the publishing committee which edited a volume of our *Collections* containing Judge Sewall's Diary, including among other things a very amusing account of the Judge's love affairs after the death of his first wife, one of them being his quaint but devoted attentions to Madam Winthrop, widow of Wait Winthrop, his offer of marriage and Mrs. Winthrop's declination of the honor. Mrs. Winthrop was an ancestress of Mr. Winthrop, Jr. At a meeting in the Old South Church in October, 1884, Dr. Ellis delivered an address upon the life and character of Judge Sewall in which with a good deal of humor he commented upon the Judge's love affairs, particularly with Madam Winthrop. At the February Meeting of the Society in 1885, Dr. Ellis, as Vice-President, being in the chair, Mr. Winthrop, Jr., rose and presented a number of letters

of Mrs. Winthrop and then with assumed solemnity, but with a great deal of pretty pointed wit and coolly impudent sarcasm, very much of it plainly directed at Dr. Ellis, read a paper claimed to be a defence of the old lady and in criticism of Judge Sewall. The paper was good humored but unlike any paper ever before read in this Society. It contained no real reflection upon Dr. Ellis or any one else, and I think Dr. Ellis, who was himself a great lover of fun, considered it only as playful badinage, however much he may have deemed it as hardly fitted for the atmosphere in which it was delivered. Its effect upon the meeting was droll enough. At first they were astonished and disposed to treat the matter seriously; then they caught the spirit of the paper and were greatly entertained, and finally, when Mr. Winthrop ended his quaint apology, they abandoned their customary dignity and burst into a roar of laughter.

The paper itself was not printed in the *Proceedings* but a short reference was made to it as an interesting paper — the publishing committee apparently taking the matter with great seriousness. At the next meeting in April Mr. Winthrop, Jr., as the records states, made "some explanatory remarks" upon the February paper, but they also were excluded from the *Proceedings*. Mr. Winthrop, however, privately printed and circulated a pamphlet entitled, "A few Words in defense of an elderly Lady" which reproduced both of his communications, without saying directly where they were delivered, but leaving no doubt in the minds of his readers. The pamphlet was divided into two Chapters, the First containing the February remarks in substance, and the Second, the April remarks. It began as follows:

Wherein the Champion of an Elderly Lady recites her wrongs.

" — and darest thou then
To beard the lion in his den,
The Douglas in his hall? "

At a stated meeting of the ————— Society in its hall adjoining King's Chapel Graveyard, Boston, on Thursday, Feb. 12, 1885, the Senior Vice-President (Rev. GEORGE E. ELLIS, D. D., LL. D.) in the chair, after a variety of business had been transacted, communications from the Third Section were called for, when Mr. R. C. Winthrop, Jr., rose and said:

Then follows Chapter 1, too long to quote, but full of quips and humorous arguments. Chapter 2 follows, and I quote its preamble and the closing two paragraphs, which are too good to be lost. As a supposed apology it is extremely witty and somewhat worse than the original offense, but its undoubted effect was to turn the joke upon the Committee who were unwilling to publish the original communication. It was headed:

"Wherein an Elderly Lady's Champion unfolds a penitential Tale.

"All they that see me . . . they shoot out the lip, they shake the head."

At a stated meeting of the same Society, on Thursday, April 9, 1885, when communications from the Second Section had been called for, Mr. Winthrop, Jr., rose and said:

Then followed the apology of which the closing paragraphs referred to were as follows:

After the [February] meeting was over, it occurred to me to put to one of our leading members, with whom I was in casual conversation, this crucial question: "How much," I inquired, "of what I said this afternoon would you advise me to send in for publication?" His countenance fell, — he looked at me somewhat askance, — and, taking refuge in periphrastic ambiguity, he replied: "They are likely to be very short of space in the forthcoming volume. Several memoirs have unexpectedly come in, and the Doctor is said to have prepared one more than forty pages long." Well, I confess, such is the egregious vanity often resulting from literary composition, that for an instant I felt like exclaiming, "How hard — how hard — that this little ewe lamb of mine — this widow's mite of a communication, so to speak — must be sacrificed because some one has unexpectedly prepared a memoir more than forty pages long!" But in a twinkling my better nature asserted its supremacy, and I said to myself, "Age before merit, — I will go home and shear that little ewe lamb!" And I went home, and I clipped a little here and I expurgated a little there, making a not inconsiderable reduction; and the next day, with a light heart and an easy conscience, I dispatched what was left to our admirable Recording Secretary, Professor Young. Bitter, bitter deception! About a week after, I got a letter from him, couched in most courteous language, — he could pen no

other, — delicately but frankly intimating to me that my little ewe lamb was a source of no small embarrassment to the Publishing Committee. One eminent member of the Society (whom he did not name) was substantially of the opinion that so misbegotten a beast had no proper place in our sheepfold. Another eminent member (whom he equally did not name) considered that, if admitted at all, the process of shearing should be continued even to the bone. A third contented himself with the general suggestion that my method of treating such subjects was hardly in accordance with the dignified traditions of this body. I took all these criticisms in good part. I realized that the gentlemen who made them could have no possible bias, that they were actuated only by a sense of duty or by a desire to promote what they believed to be the best interests of this Society. I deferred to their better judgment. I drew the sacrificial knife. I said, "I have been willing in moderation to shear, but I cannot vivisect this animal; I prefer to cut its throat." In other words, I withdrew the communication: substituting for it that half-page of innocent manuscript which you will find printed in the volume of Proceedings this day laid upon the table.

And here, so far as this Society is concerned, I drop the subject; merely adding that, while I freely consented to make this little sacrifice, while I was even ready to humble myself as I have done here to-day, yet I could not find it in my heart to abandon one who, as I firmly believe, has rested her defence upon my shoulders. I reflected that the pamphlet [done by Dr. Ellis], the accuracy of passages in which I called in question, has not merely been distributed among the personal friends of its distinguished author, but that it has unquestionably found a place — a place of permanent record — on the shelves of numerous public libraries in New England and elsewhere; and I thought it only fair, only right, that the future student of provincial domestic history should be enabled to discover in some obscure and dusty corner of the same shelves another little pamphlet, issued solely upon my own responsibility, disengaging wholly the dignity of this Society, and which will embody the substance of my remarks upon the subject, accompanied, not impossibly, by some slight annotation. I shall be happy to send a copy of this little pamphlet to any member of the Society who may feel the smallest interest in the matter, and in the meantime I should be really grateful if any one of them — Mr. Charles Francis Adams, Jr., of course, necessarily excepted — would supply me with an appropriate classical quotation for my titlepage. Those I have hitherto thought of do not

quite satisfy me, and I have been obliged thus far to content myself with the following sentence, or rather half-sentence, which I take from an inspired source: "And David put his hand in his bag, and drew thence a stone, and *slang* it."

Of course the reference to Mr. Adams was only a good-natured joke between friends.

I have recalled this episode at some length not merely for amusement, but because of its exceptional wit, for notwithstanding its light tone and that some of the members may yet think it not consistent with the dignity of the Society, I can but consider it as extremely clever and worthy of preservation.

Lest any member unacquainted with Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., should infer that he treated this Society and his membership in a spirit of levity, I desire to say that that was far from being the case, for he was one of our most valued members and his communications, more numerous than those of almost any member, except his own distinguished father, were of exceptional historical value and showed much painstaking investigation. They lost nothing by being at times illumined by his characteristic humor. I should add as showing Mr. Winthrop, Jr.'s perfect friendliness towards Dr. Ellis, that in a note in his pamphlet he says: "I cannot always agree with Dr. Ellis; but I rejoice that his eminent services to historical literature have received fresh recognition by his unanimous election to a post (the Presidency of this Society) he is so well fitted to adorn."

Upon the resignation of President Winthrop in April, 1885, Dr. George E. Ellis, who had been Vice-President since April, 1877, was elected President of the Society. He also was a man of striking presence, a most accomplished scholar, an indefatigable worker in historical investigation, the author of many books and of more pamphlets and addresses, and moreover of a most genial and attractive personality. He was devotedly interested in the welfare of the Society, communicated to its meetings exceedingly valuable papers, and at his death in 1894, only a month after that of his predecessor, Mr. Winthrop, manifested by a most liberal donation to the Society in his will, his appreciation of the important work being done by its members.

In April, 1895, Mr. Charles Francis Adams, Jr., was elected to succeed Dr. Ellis. I need not dwell upon his service to the Society, great as it unquestionably was, for his administration is fresh in the minds of most of you. He inherited a large part of the abilities and many of the notable characteristics of his distinguished family. Independent in thought and action, always vigorous and refreshing in his communications to the Society, so clear and emphatic in his style and delivery that he never failed to attract and hold his audience, he made an impressive figure as the presiding officer. If he did not possess the deep scholarship of Mr. Winthrop and Dr. Ellis he was thoroughly well read and had made a constant study of New England history, and by his business experience and varied life had gained a wide knowledge of men and affairs. He was something of an iconoclast and not infrequently revelled in the opportunity of challenging well established opinions and supposed historical facts. He was frank and bold in his criticisms of friends and foes, not sparing even his own family, but always in a good-natured way, free from bitterness; but he possessed the rare faculty of accepting and even enjoying honest criticism of his own views.

This recalls to my mind a story, not connected with the Society but illustrative of the downright and forcible character of the Adams family. John Quincy Adams, the brother of Charles, was Moderator of a Quincy town meeting, in fact during his life he was a sort of perpetual Moderator. One of the rules of the meeting was that no one should be in the hall with his hat on. Charles entered and sat down with his hat on. The Moderator called his attention to this infraction of the rule without result, whereupon he called the constable and pointing to Charles said, "Mr. Officer, remove that man," and it was done. Of course at that time both John and Charles were quite young men. By his energy and constant interest Mr. Adams was of the greatest value to the Society, and the virility and pungency of his contributions attracted those who agreed or those who disagreed with his positive views. Whenever he spoke he was sure of having something to say which demanded consideration, even if it provoked dissent.

Personally he seemed to some a little cold and distant in his manner and, curiously, it was in a measure the result of a certain shyness altogether foreign to his character; but beneath the outward manner was a warm heart and those who came to know him respected and loved him for the true and genuine qualities of his generous nature. During his administration the project of moving from Tremont Street to larger and better quarters took shape and owing chiefly to the liberal legacies of Mr. Waterston and Dr. Ellis the Society were enabled by selling the Tremont Street building to purchase the present lot and erect the attractive and commodious building we now occupy. In that undertaking the business ability and energy of Mr. Adams were of the greatest aid.

The last meeting in the old Tremont Street building was in April, 1897, and after that until the new building was completed the meetings were held in the rooms of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in the Boston Athenaeum.

In April, 1899, the first meeting was held in the new building and celebrated by an address of the President in the new Ellis Hall, a reception to invited guests and an inspection of the rooms.

That we already feel the need of some enlargements safely and properly to preserve our constantly increasing number of books and of manuscripts, as well as of our invaluable collections, only shows the growth of the Society's work and the increasing interest of numerous friends interested in its proceedings.

Since I entered the Society in 1873 it has published forty-five volumes of its *Proceedings* containing papers of the utmost value and historical importance; twelve volumes of *Collections*, the exhaustive edition of Bradford's *History* and twelve other Volumes, more or less under the auspices of the Society, and the second volume of the *Warren and Adams Letters*, too long delayed, is about ready for the press. Turning to the Treasurer's report for 1873 we find that the total property of the Society then consisted of the Tremont Street building, I suppose worth upwards of \$125,000, but subject to a mortgage of \$60,000, and funds for the use of the Society amounting to approximately

\$22,000. In the Treasurer's Report for 1922 it appears that its property now consists of this building, standing on the books at \$98,000, but valued by the City at \$196,000, and funds devoted to various purposes within the scope of the Society's work of about \$602,000 — beside our collections of books, manuscripts, etc., of inestimable value — showing a remarkable gain in the fifty years.

An item of peculiar personal interest to me is the fact that eight members of my college class — Harvard 1858 — have been or are now members of this Society — including George Dexter, Recording Secretary from 1879 to 1883, Henry Adams, and our distinguished friend, Dr. Henry P. Walcott — a number of members not exceeded, I think, by any college class.

To a classmate it is interesting to note in Henry Adams' *Education of Henry Adams* many of the same traits of character and of his peculiar train of thought exhibited in his college days. His opinion of Harvard College and of the world in general hardly changed at all, though it is fair to say that in some degree the attitude seemed to be unconsciously an assumed one. As an introspective study the book is of great value to scholars and students, but one cannot help the feeling that so far from the world's owing him a living, with his natural abilities, his station in life, his advantage in his surroundings, the fault lay not with the world if he did not attain full success. What he did he did exceedingly well. If his gropings led to nowhere in the final result, and his historical judgments of men and events be somewhat impaired by a certain one-sided view and lack of fair discrimination, it can only be ascribed to the defect of his qualities.

And now I may close this brief review of fifty years — it might well be extended — but my limit of time at this meeting and my physical strength suggest that I leave to others much that might be of interest. I deeply appreciate the consideration shown me by the Society, both in official position and otherwise, and may add that the meetings of the Society have given me much enjoyment and that I regard them as a real educative force. The field for historical investigation is a vast one and many of its problems

are yet unsolved. The awful war but just closed has left a bloody mark upon our civilization. Whether it notes progress or deterioration no one can at present say; it remains for future historians to interpret its meaning and to analyze the enormous mass of material yet to be digested. In that interesting duty I have no question that members of our Society will take their part and will show the same thorough devotion to the solution of historical truth that has marked the one hundred and thirty-two years of the Society's existence.

Mr. RHODES wrote from Nice as follows:

To have been a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society for fifty years is a distinction, but to have acquired that membership is one still greater. Mr. Warren was made a member in 1873 and has worthily filled its duties and accomplishments. A ready speaker, he has won us by his impromptu talks when occasion offered, and a facile writer, his more serious efforts have met the high standard of this Society. When a position of Vice-President fell vacant, the Chairman of the Committee (Mr. Wendell), in reporting Mr. Warren's name, declared that he was the only one considered, as the committee with one accord agreed that he was the man for the place. He was excellent as a presiding officer. As member of the Council he knew almost everybody who was presented for membership and his judgments were always tempered with both impartiality and force.

Mr. Warren did not owe his popularity to an agreement with whatever position was put forth, for he was a man of decided opinions, but he conducted his controversies with kindness and grace, and seemed always to put himself in the other man's place, although sorrowing at the same time that the other man did not see things as he saw them.

Dr. NICHOLS read a paper on Isaiah Thomas, Printer, to be published elsewhere.

FROM THE PAPERS OF HORATIO WOODMAN.

FROM I. F. MARSH.

PARKER HOUSE, SCHOOL ST., BOSTON,
Saturday Evening.

MY DEAR SIR: — I called to see you this afternoon, but was unable to find you. I wished to say to you that in all probability the publication of the *Daily Atlas & Bee* will be discontinued after Monday next.¹ I have used every exertion with leading members of our party, in order that they might take the property and keep alive a reliable paper. The times are such that those who are disposed to aid me, are utterly unable to accomplish anything. 'Tis a great loss to me, but there is no help for losses in times of war.

I shall be at my office all day tomorrow and shall be pleased to see you — inasmuch as there may be something said in behalf of our worthy Governor's administration that will do away with an impression that there exists in certain military departments a want of promptness. It will be the last opportunity and if anything occurs to you that had better be said, or ought to be said in his behalf, I shall be happy to receive such from your pen. I feel sad that I cannot continue the support to the State administration which thus far has been my constant endeavor to bestow through the columns of the *Atlas & Bee*. As an individual, with widely extended acquaintance, it will be my pleasure as well as duty, to let no opportunity pass whereby I can add one iota of strength to the Republican cause.

Hoping to see you tomorrow, I am, very respectfully, your friend and obedient servant.

I. F. MARSH.

FROM ALBERT GALLATIN BROWNE, JR.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS, EXECUTIVE
DEPARTMENT, COUNCIL CHAMBER, BOSTON,
May 22d, 1861.*(Private and unofficial)*

DEAR SIR: — Gen. Butler left Mass. under orders from Head Quarters, dated April 18, to report himself to the Adj't. Gen'l of the U. S. at Washington.

Until he was mustered into the U. S. service at Washington or elsewhere according to the requisition of the President of the

¹ The two papers were combined in 1848, and were published certainly as late as June, 1851.

U. S. it would have been entirely in the power of the Governor (I conceive) to have removed him and to have substituted another Brigadier in his place.

At what date he was mustered into the service of the U. S. I cannot tell and there has yet reached us no information; but it must have been *after* he with the 8th regt. reached Washington and somewhere in the neighborhood of April 25 — maybe a day or two before, or later.

After being mustered in he became subject absolutely to orders from the President of the U. S. as Commander in Chief of militia called into actual service of the U. S. (See Art. 2, Sec. 2, of Const. of U. S.).

But the nature of a militia officer in such relations is an anomalous one. He owes an immediate duty for three months to the U. S. — under the orders of the President as Commander in Chief — and an ultimate duty as a militia officer of Massachusetts to the Governor and Commander in Chief of that State, after the expiration of the three months. This double relation makes the duties of reporting to superior officers somewhat complex; but in this instance the act of offering the militia of Massachusetts (still under Massachusetts absolute authority, for they certainly were not under U. S. authority till *subsequently* mustered in to U. S. service at Washington) to the Governor of Maryland, was a fair object of comment by the Governor and *Commander in Chief of Butler and those militia*, they not having been mustered into U. S. service at the time of his offer to Hicks. Still further if you will notice the beginning of the Governor's despatch of April 25th to Butler you will perceive that it is in answer to a despatch from Butler conveyed through Major Ames, and was not an *original* introduction of the subject. The long and short of it is, simply

1. At the time Butler made the offer to Hicks, he (Butler) was under the absolute orders of Governor Andrew, not having then been mustered into U. S. service.

2. Of course no information or communication was ever made from Head Quarters here to any newspaper — whether the *Tribune* or any other — of the contents of the Governor's despatch, or of any other despatch whatsoever; but this you can hardly be supposed to know except by supposition of its truth BECAUSE of the impropriety of any other state of facts.

In anything you may write in answer to the *Courier's* article please avoid sedulously any appearance of speaking upon information or authority derived from here.

I have written very hastily and perhaps incoherently. Yours truly,

A. G. BROWNE, JR.

FROM GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS.

NORTH SHORE,
RICHMOND Co., N. Y.
6th June, 1862.

MY DEAR SIR: — I had my long scissors in one hand, the *Transcript* of the 2d June in the other, and was just about cutting out the article¹ when the mail came in (brought by a female) and I opened upon your kind remembrance.

The article is very important, as you see by the attention it excites.

I am altogether in the dark as to the secret history of the Campaign, and hitherto, regarding McClellan strictly as a soldier, whose defeat was overwhelming disaster to the country, I have been patient and confident. I am so still. The difference in the character of his campaigns this year and a year ago, attest his military perception and ability. I like the sharp line you draw between the soldier and the statesman. McClellan, I think, has proved himself the former. I do not enough know Stanton's general views to know whether he is the latter.

For the general plan of the Campaign, which, so far as appears, was to wait till everything was ready, then to strike everywhere at once and irresistibly, it seems to me admirable. I think otherwise the war would have been prolonged indefinitely. For we had not only to beat, but to beat with a sudden and continuous prestige of victory.

Whether any such plan was McClellan's, I don't know. But I do know that we began to move in January at the West and kept moving until last Saturday and Sunday, with no reverse but the *Merrimac* and Banks. I observe that you say the western move was irrespective of McClellan's plan. If, however, he had been seriously opposed to it, would it not have been abandoned? or postponed?

However, *Finis coronat opus*. When we are at Richmond I shall certainly not say that others might not have got there — but that McClellan did get there. He inspires me with no enthusiasm, but with very great confidence. By the necessity of the case his part is neither brilliant nor dashing, at present. He must be sure of success, not risk it.

The petulant criticism which dogs Stanton is as unreasonable as the *evoe!* which hailed his bulletin of congratulation at Mill Spring as if it had been a victory.

¹ An editorial leader of two columns on "Mr. Stanton, General McClellan and Banks's Column," expressing confidence in McClellan.

I have found that the hardest thing in this war is to know whether people said and did what they are said to have said and done. Everything which I have supposed Stanton to have done, except his *Tribune* letter, seems to me forcible and wise. He understands that the conditions of war are not those of peace.

Forgive this long letter. You see what kindness brings upon your head! Faithfully Yours,

G. W. CURTIS.

FROM JOHN FOWLER, JR.

NEW ROCHELLE, WESTCHESTER CO., N. YORK,
Friday Evening, November 28, 1862.

MY DEAR SIR, — Your very kind favor of 26th inst. with Mr. Livermore's book reached my office in Town this day. Please accept my thanks for your courtesy. I shall suitably acknowledge Mr. L's kindness.

I have read your articles on McClellan with great satisfaction. They reach the core of the subject, and the facts therein set forth ought to be more generally known. I was not among those who early joined in the hue and cry against "Tardy George" (as he has since his youth been styled in Philadelphia), but assumed that the President's apparent confidence in him was fully justified — because in the face of a popular clamor it was continued. I knew that the Commander in Chief of the Armies of the United States and Admiral of the Navies of the same was amiable, but I also thought he was firm and would always be just to his people as well as to his Generals. The slow approach towards the rebel hosts in Maryland and the undecisive conflict at Antietam wore out my patience. It seemed to me then that McClellan was either incompetent or luke-warm. The latter supposition seemed to be the correct one from the fact that every Northern traitor was his partisan, and every pro-slavery-Breckenridge-Democrat began to talk of him as our next President. He is now cheek by jowl with the New York politicians, receiving their serenades, sitting up with their Committees and enjoying the hospitalities of the vilest secessionist sympathies outside of Fort La Fayette.

Like you, I voted for the great Rail-Splitter; but with honest Back-Wood's man I have done. Honest he is beyond question; but could a Knave have done us more harm?

There was a time when sharp criticism seemed like aiding Treason. Has the President misunderstood this patriotic impulse? Does he comprehend the rebuke of the recent elections?

Does he understand the anomaly of a State as decidedly anti-slavery as any in the Union, choosing a pro-slavery Governor?

You are right in denouncing the President as a man who is responsible for a vast proportion of the sorrow and distress which now so heavily weigh down the nation's heart. Very truly yours,

JOHN FOWLER, JR.

FROM COUNT ADAM GUROWSKI.¹

WASHINGTON, April 25th, 1863.

DEAR SIR, — Early this morning I called at Markham's and to my regret found the room cold and abandoned. I am so bold and rely so much on your kindness as to dig you up in Athens and: imo. request your forgiveness for — what follows.

My genuine publisher, as you may know, is a Mr. Stern or Sterns the founder of the *Commonwealth*.² Could you approach him — in a very delicate and inoffensive way, and ask to regulate with me the proceeds from the Diary. I have nothing to do with Shepherd or Lee, generally I am a poor business man and rely upon the honesty of Mr. Stern or Sterns.

That is all so far my personal affairs are concerned, and I am almost ashamed to trouble you with such petty object. But, *vacuus venter non studet libenter*, and my vacuum is allmost bottomless.

I regret not to have seen more of you in this Washington, dry, stinking Sahara, where *men* are more scarce than oasis in Gobi. But my orbite is so limited in this here space, that naturally we crossed seldom each other. That I am able to keep here together the bit of brains left by a long struggle — (if not for life — Darwin) but for consciencious convictions — that I am not going mad is a wonder for which I ought to be and am grateful to fate, or to what fools call higher influences. Yours very truly devoted,

GUROWSKI.

FROM COUNT ADAM GUROWSKI.

WASHINGTON, May 9th, [1863.]

DEAR SIR, — Again I knock at the door of your kind patience: but, as after all, I am proud to belong in all respects and views to one and the same brotherhood with you, so — there ends the preamble.

¹ (1805-1866.)

² George Luther Stearns.

I received a letter from Lee & Shepherd. But for me the question is: that I do not care to have them as my agents, as not a word ever passed between them and me. Once more I ask your kindness to impress — very tenderly of course — on Mr. Sterns that is only with him that I expect to deal.

I am humbled, despairing and ashamed concerning Hooker.¹ I know all. Brilliant, brave, cool, he nevertheless committed *absolutely* the same mistakes and faults for which he upraided MacClellan and Burnside. No one will comprehend in this country, the more even than paramount, necessity of a scientific, military staff at the head quarters. Even a Napoleon could not do any thing without such a Staff, and without a thoroughbred Chief of Staff. Hooker's failure can be directly traced to the above absolute deficiency and inadequacy. The rebels manouvered their forces admirably, admirably; better than in any former battle or campaign. Lee and his staff acquired the necessary skill for moving large bodies. They are at one and the same work for two years, we are apprenticing and groping in dark. Hooker has not learned to embrace and handle 100,000 men, a thing in itself impossible without a thorough Staff.

Not a battle, but a campaign was thus lost.

Forgive my importunity and my dark forebodings. But I wish I could avoid to see facts in their true light. Yours truly,

GUROWSKI.

FROM COUNT ADAM GUROWSKI.

WASHINGTON, June 22, [1863.]

DEAR MR. HORATIO, — Again I am pouncing upon you with a request, or rather with three, *imo*. Not to get impatient, 2d. to keep secret, 3d. to do if possible the following in any of the papers of which you have the command.

You find in the papers that England and France asked our Government to make a demonstration against Russia — the only friend that we have — in favor of Poland.

My standpoint is *purely and exclusively* American. Mr. Seward refused on the plea that our policy is not to interfere in European broils, etc., etc. It is all well, but in my opinion not enough. Mr. Seward might have sized the occasion to, in general, condemn the principle of meddling with other people's business, and domestic affairs, what England and France were eager to apply to us, and what France applies to Mexico, Spain *to the once* Dominican republic.

¹ On hearing of Chancellorsville.

2do. The refusal made by our Government even as it is, is the expression of the friendliness of the American people and not at all a result of the personal influence of the Russian Minister in Washington, whom public opinion supposes to be rather friendly to the chiefs of the rebels, and whose most intimate relations continually are with the most decided secessionists in Washington.

If you can make few lines for the *Transcript* do me the favor, and then send me the slip.

As to Poland: it is a tragedy which will end in the ruin of the country, in blood and flames, and no other result is humanly possible. Fifteen vilages of my family and two boroughs are already burned down, more than 8000 population beggared and ruined. For the last four weeks that region is the arena of the cursed struggle. The same is with great many other places, and the greatest, nay the only sufferers are the poor peasantry en masse opposed to the insurrection. I as man, as humanitarian, as Pole and as Statesman, I am with the peasantry and altogether curse that uprising.

As you know we had a cavallery fight yesterday, which I consider a unnecessary demonstration and a military crime. It resulted in NOTHING as military result. It is Hooker's-Lincoln's-Butterfield['s] strategy.

Recall me to the Governor's memory and forgive my impudence.

GUROWSKI.

FROM COUNT ADAM GUROWSKI.

ATTORNEY GENERAL'S LIBRARY, WASHINGTON,
April 9th, 1866.

The third Volume of my Diary will be left at the Office of the *Transcript* of which you are one of the luminaries. I hope that you will [be] a truer friend to me and to my third child, as you showed yourself to have been to the second Volume.¹ I hope you will not snubb me of as you did three years ago. I still believe in you.

I know to well that my case is hopeless as it is generally with every boldly uttered truth and conviction. I attack the press; this is the greatest crime, greater treason as that perpetrated by Jeff Davis. But I cannot help it.

¹ The second volume was published in New York, 1864, and the third in Washington, 1866.

Before I published this third volume I asked advice of John Stuart Mill. He is impartial and disinterested. Herewith included an extract from his letter, for such use as you will find proper. I asked the opinion of Mill, because I was puzzled by the abuse showered upon me, and by the seemingly impossibility with which no one could find out that behind the thus called abuse, there was a comprehension of the great events.

If a copy is not left for the *Transcript* ask one from Lee & Shepherd on my account. Yours very truly,

GUROWSKI.

Extract from a letter of John Stuart Mill:

"I have read your three volumes through (the third was the printed Mss.) and the result is that on their own account as well as on yours, I am desirous that they should be published. You have fully established the claim of your view of the last years of American history, to be heard and considered. Your Diary will be an important part of the evidence which future historians of these great events will have to study. It will be very instructive even in this country (England)," etc., etc.

(Mill is my friend of more than thirty-five years standing and I asked his advice as that of a physician for a disease.)

G.

[Memorandum, in Woodman's handwriting:] Answered that I had nothing to do with the *Transcript*, etc., but would notice it. He died about May 1/66.¹

FROM WILLIAM BATCHELDER GREENE.²

IN THE FIELD, NEAR BERMUDA HUNDRED,
June 22d, 1864.

DEAR WOODMAN: — I notice that the Northern newspapers say General Butler's part in this campaign has not been equal to the promise, and shows him as another example of the disastrous policy of employing political generals to do military work: my wife also writes to me, telling me her neighbors speak of him as a broken reed, and say that those who cooperate with him find it dangerous to lean on him; and she asks if he has failed to do his part. Now, in my opinion, Butler is the only

¹ May 4, 1866.

² He had resigned from the army in October, 1862, and was serving as Volunteer Military Aide to General Butler.

man of them all who has done his part according to the programme; and I write this to you, instead of writing to the newspapers, because I am now serving under General Butler, and should consider it indelicate to print anything in his praise or dispraise. It is true I know nothing about the matter that is not known to everybody, and perhaps better known to yourself than to me, but permit me to put the facts together, and, if you think there is any sense in what I say, do Butler justice by proclaiming in Boston how he has been wronged ever since the campaign commenced. Say so in the *Transcript* and other papers, for, just at this time, Massachusetts people ought to stand by General Butler.

1°. That Mephistopheles of the War who is justly hated by both you and me, that bird of ill-omen whose visits forebode disaster, and who is now inspecting the armies, is represented to have said that, although he gives Butler the command of an army, he reduces the danger to the minimum amount by leaving three of the best generals, Smith, Gillmore, Weitzel, to prevent him from making blunders, or to repair them as soon as possible. This statement, as it appears in the papers (whether Mr. Lincoln ever made it or not) is an outrage on Butler; and is prejudicial to good discipline inasmuch as it sows the seeds of mutiny in the minds of the Generals named. Butler is superiour in mind and resources, as well as in rank, to all of them; but, if the people believe the President, they will give Butler no credit for any good thing that is done, but will regard him as a political charlatan desirous of cheating meritorious officers out of the credit that belongs to them, while they will give him credit for any blunder that Smith or Gilmore may make, or may have made. Thus Butler loses the campaign before the first gun is fired; for all the loss is assigned beforehand to him, and all the gain to Smith and Gillmore — as his advisers. It is the contrary that is true, for it is Butler who is the *adviser*! Furthermore, Smith and Gillmore are regulars, and naturally tend to assume that General Butler's superiority of rank is nominal only as it respects actual command, and that he is entitled to the highest deference and respect, but not to obedience in matters relating to actual service in the field. Thus a conflict is organized in the very nature of things, since Butler is the last man in the world to submit to being quietly subordinated — he will never play the part of *le roi fainéant*. Whatever difficulty may arise will flow naturally from the necessity of the situation.

Now, as to Butler's merits in this campaign. There are three

roads from Washington to Richmond; 1st the president's road, which Grant calls "this line," 2d McClellan's road, and 3d Butler's road. Butler has occupied, and still holds, the position on his road where the key of success is deposited. Grant started on the president's road, was driven from it to McClellan's road, and tried to get back on "*this line*" to go round Richmond by the west, but failed, because in face of the opposition he would have to encounter, his line of operation would have been preposterously long; he then tried to take advantage of McClellan's road, but failed to win the requisite battle, and finally had to join Butler at Bermuda Hundred. Now who comes bright out of all this? Who was long-headed from the beginning? The President is nowhere, and Grant has acted on no plan at all, but has been scratching for luck, first on "this line," or the president's road, then on McClellan's road, and will have to win, if he wins at all, on Butler's road. General Butler has demonstrated that he has a capacity for war. If this campaign fails, he will not fail, for his plan has not been fairly tried; and events have already justified him. Can any one doubt that, if, in the beginning, the feigned attack had been made on "this line," and the real, concentrated, determined, venomous assault had been made by the James River, that we should now be in Richmond, and that thousands of soldiers, now dead, would have been alive and rejoicing? Think of it for a moment, and you will see that history will justify General Butler (is justifying him now) and that the clamor of newspaper correspondents comes solely from the fact that they see with the eyes of the body but not with those of the mind, and that they take cognizance of what happens at a particular moment, but take no cognizance of either causes or effects.

If you would like to come here to pay me a visit, and see things with your own eyes, I have no doubt I could get a pass for you from the General, and you could sleep in my tent. Tell me what you think of all this that I have said, and let people in Boston know that General Butler knows what he is about, and that it is doubtful whether anybody else in this neighbourhood knows exactly what they are after. Yours truly,

WM. B. GREENE,

Col. 1st. U. S. Vols.

[Memorandum, by Woodman:] Some weeks after, Col. Greene, when here, changed what he says here of General Grant by telling me, that, from subsequent information, he became satisfied that the President's placing Siegel in the *Shenandoah Valley* and

his inefficiency destroyed Grant's plan, which was to swing his army round to the *West* of Richmond, avail of the rebel sources of supply, hold the railroads and take Richmond.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Mr. NORCROSS.

FEBRUARY MEETING.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday the 8th instant at three o'clock, P.M., the first Vice-President, Mr. LORD, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From Mrs. C. H. Booth, a scrap-book on Boston.

From Fisher Howe, of New York, a photostat of a "Ballad concerning the Fight between the English and French at Lake George," 1755, from the only known copy in the Library Company of Philadelphia.

By deposit, from Mrs. Theodore P. Burgess of Dedham, a Bible, London, 1672, given by Edward Bromfield (d. 1734) to his son Edward (1695-1756).

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following accessions:

From Frederic Winthrop, fifteen photographs of army officers in the Civil War.

From Albert Almon, of Glace Bay, Nova Scotia, half tone views of Louisburg in 1731, by Verrier, and of the Landing of the New England Forces at Cape Breton, engraved by John Brooks after a painting by John Stevens, owned by Dr. Collins Warren.

From the State Street Trust Company, a half tone view of Bowdoin Square, Boston, about 1823, from the sketch made for the Bostonian Society by William P. Bodwell from prints and information furnished by Walter Kendall Watkins.

From D. B. Updike, a colored view of the Granary Burying Ground, showing Park Street Church, and the monument to Benjamin Franklin's parents, by R. Ruzicka, 1922.

From Mrs. Theodore P. Burgess, of Dedham, a piece of one of the pillars in the Brattle Square Church, demolished in 1871.

From Miss Aimé Louise Root, an engraving by A. H. Ritchie, of Frank B. Carpenter's picture of the first reading of the Emancipation Proclamation before the Cabinet; and a photograph of the National Congregational Council at Plymouth Rock, June 22, 1865.

By purchase, seven photographs, taken by William T. Clark, of Dr. DeNormandie in his study at Roxbury (about 1910); of the Gardiner Greene house, Pemberton Square, from a painting in the Bostonian Society; of the interior of King's Chapel, Boston; of the Harvard Church, Charlestown; of one of the earliest electric cars on Tremont Street, opposite to the Studio Building and the Massachusetts Horticultural Society; of the Washington Elm, Cambridge; and of a bust of John Brown.

From Col. Henry Hersey Andrew, of New York, a large photograph of his father, Gov. John A. Andrew.

The Editor, for the Corresponding Secretary, who was absent, reported the receipt of a letter from Henry Winchester Cunningham accepting his election as a Resident Member of the Society, and a letter from James Benjamin Wilbur, of Manchester, Vermont, accepting his election as a Corresponding Member.

Charles Warren, of Dedham, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

Governor McCALL read the introduction to his forthcoming life of Daniel Webster, summarizing his statesmanship and relation to the events of his day.

Mr. BASSETT then spoke on

NOTES ON JACKSON'S VISIT TO NEW ENGLAND, JUNE, 1833.

"June 27. Dr. Waterhouse came and dined with us. . . . He was, however, present yesterday at the ceremony of conferring the degree of Doctor of Laws upon President Jackson, and was much captivated by the ease and gracefulness of his manners. . . . But he says Jackson is so excessively debilitated that he should not be surprised if he should never reach Washington again."

And to this the writer added on his own account: "I believe much of his debility is politic. . . . He is so ravenous of notoriety that he craves the sympathy for sickness as a portion of his glory. He is now alternately giving out his chronic diarrhœa and making Warren bleed him for a pleurisy, and posting to Cambridge for a doctorate of Laws; mounting the monument of Bunker's Hill to hear a fulsome address and receive two cannon-balls from Edward Everett,

and riding post to Lynn, Marblehead, and Salem, receiving collations, deputations, and addresses at them all, in one and the same day. Four-fifths of his sickness is trickery, and the other fifth mere fatigue." So writes John Quincy Adams (*Memoirs*, IX, 5).¹

Over against John Quincy Adams's opinion let us place that of Josiah Quincy, appointed by the governor to act as his representative in conducting Jackson through the state. His account of his experience opens with a tribute to the Jacksonian manner. He says:

Although I had a holiday acquaintance with the General, and although a man certainly puts on his best manners when undergoing a public reception, the fact was borne in upon me that the seventh President was, in essence, a knightly personage—prejudiced, narrow, mistaken upon many points, it might be, but vigorously a gentleman in his high sense of honor and in the natural straightforward courtesies which are easily to be distinguished from the veneer of policy; and I was not prepared to be favorably impressed with a man who was simply intolerable to the Brahmin caste of my native State. . . .

As we rode through divers small towns receiving salutes and cheers at their centres, the President talked constantly and expressed himself with great freedom about persons. His conversation was interesting from its sincerity, decision, and point. It was easy to see that he was not a man to accept a difference of opinion with equanimity; but that was clearly because, he being

¹ "Do not the people in Europe who read the Am[erican] newspapers think us Bostonians a strange set of people? Here is Pres. Jackson, for whom a short time ago no epithet was too bad, has paid us a visit and was received with all the bustle, preparation and show of honor, which was paid to Lafayette. In truth the feelings of the people, however, were evidently very different. The authorities thought it proper to pay respect to the powers above them for the time being; and the people joined in it for the mere love of excitement and of something to stare at, or for love of a holiday. There was little heartfelt in their welcome. The pres[ident] arrived here a week last Friday, reviewed the troops on Saturday, was under your father's care on Sunday and Monday, went to Charlesto[w]n and was addressed by Mr. Everett on Bunker hill on Tuesday morning, to Com[mencement] Tuesday afternoon, where he received an LL.D., then went on to Lowell and was met by 3000 factory girls. He went on to New Hampshire and was going to Maine, but his health was so much affected that he has been obliged to return and is now on his way to Washington." *Edward Warren to Jonathan Mason Warren*, July 4, 1833. From the Warren Papers.

honest and earnest, Heaven would not suffer his opinion to be other than *right*.

Referring to Jackson's state of health Quincy says:

On Monday President was confined to his room, and indeed to his bed by indisposition. He asked me to read the papers to him and took great delight in the narratives of Jack Downing (the Mark Twain of the period), who purported to accompany the presidential party and to chronicle its doings. "The Vice-President must have written that," said Jackson, after some specially happy hit. "Depend upon it, Jack Downing is only Van Buren in masquerade."

At various places in his narrative Quincy refers to the health of the President, which was exceedingly low one day and rose to the condition of normal the next, through the exertion of a strong will, as it was said. It was at Salem that it seemed most dangerous. "I felt relieved of a burden of responsibility," says the narrator, "when Jackson was safe in bed and under the direction of proper medical attendants." Next day Jackson was master of his energies and continued the journey. Quincy remarks: "No person who had seen the collapsed condition in which the President was deposited at the hotel would have imagined that he could have resumed his travels the next day; and it was, undoubtedly, by an exertion of the will of which only the exceptional man is capable that he was able to do so. But the art of mastering the physical nature was familiar to Jackson, who had gone through the fatigues of generalship in the field when supported only by a few grains of rice. An immaterial something flashed through his eye as he greeted us in the breakfast room, and it was evident that the faltering body was again held in subjection." (p. 371)

Putting side by side the statements of John Quincy Adams and Josiah Quincy it is seen that Adams believed that Jackson was not ill at all but attitudinizing, while Quincy, who attended him daily — and was much under the glamour of the events around him — accepted as genuine the evidences that Jackson was reduced at times to extreme debility. By the side of these statements I am able to place the follow-

ing letter from Major A. J. Donelson, Jackson's private secretary, to Francis P. Blair, editor of the *Globe* in Washington, written in Boston on June 25, 1833. It gives a better view of Jackson's health at this time than one has from either of the two conflicting sources of information just cited, and it gives us nearly a true account of Jackson's reason for terminating his journey at Concord, New Hampshire, only one important reason being omitted.

The President was confined to his room yesterday from cold. He was bled and took some light purgative medicine under the advice of Dr. Warren, and is this morning much better. The weather, however, is so unfavorable that he will not pursue his journey to Concord earlier than tomorrow by which time it is expected that he will regain his usual strength.

You will no doubt be led to apprehend from the reports in circulation that his safety has been endangered by the fatigue of his journey. It is not so. Altho' the fatigue has been great, it is far less than he could have borne, as was proved by the gradual improvement of his health until he reached Boston, where we met rain and one of those cold easterly winds from the ice off New Foundland which is so much dreaded by all strangers. It is desirable that the President should return as soon as possible to the warmer climate of Washington; and he will no doubt on this account shorten his tour. You shall have notice of his determination as soon as it is formed.

Perhaps it would be permissible for me to add that through a long study of the Jackson correspondence I have found frequent allusions to Jackson's ill health, which he was always overcoming by will power. I think it fair to take that for its face value, at least so far as he was consciously involved. He thought himself ill and rallied his strength by his own volition. There is every reason to believe this in his life. As for Adams's opinions, therefore, he was right in supposing that Jackson was not as ill as the papers said. He was not right in attributing the situation to trickery.

Josiah Quincy, riding in the same barouche with the president and passing jokes with him day after day, observing how the demands of the crowds that cheered the visitor weakened his vitality, like others, got the impression that he was being exhausted to the point of collapse.

Major Donelson, writing to one of the few intimates who were preparing the secret springs of politics at the time, reveals the situation. Jackson, though ill, was doing better than his friends anticipated. But he had decided not to go through with the trip as planned. That is, he would not proceed from New Hampshire to Saratoga, but would go back to Washington. Just when he would turn on his tracks was not known, but he would let Blair know beforehand, evidently with the intention of having Blair prepare the public mind for the change of plan.

No such information was given to Blair. There was no time for it. It was at Concord on July 1 that the trip was abandoned. Jackson returned too rapidly for a valetudinarian. Leaving Concord in the morning he was in Roxbury at night, where he slept at Samuel D. Bradford's. Next morning he set out for Providence, took the evening boat for New York, in which city, on the morning of the third, he stepped from his own boat to that which set off for Philadelphia, arriving there in the afternoon, and proceeding at once to the capital which he reached on the fourth of July at ten A.M. Blair was taken by surprise. As it was holiday no issue of the papers was expected. He flew to the printing-house with a printer, and hastily issued a hand-bill extra, in order, as he said, that the public should not form unjustified opinions.

There was work to do in Washington. William J. Duane was just being broken in as secretary of the treasury to the job of removing the deposits. To carry the figure a little further, he was already bucking in the saddle. Jackson was needed in Washington to reduce him to obedience, or, if that could not be done, to find another to take his place. And that is the point that Major Donelson did not mention in his letter to Blair, when he forecasted that Jackson would give up his journey and return to Washington, although he was holding up on the journey better than was expected.

Jackson's visit to New England was made at an auspicious time for a cordial reception. It was just after he had opposed a stern front to the nullifiers of South Carolina and endeared himself by his nullification proclamation to those who wished to see a still stronger union. Three months

later he was well into his project of removing the deposits from the Bank of the United States; and from that time to his death he would not have received an enthusiastic welcome in this section of the country.

Nor was the enthusiasm confined to New England. In Philadelphia, Trenton, and New York, were demonstrations by all the people as he passed through. There was in these places a great amount of noise. In New York he was given a wildly enthusiastic reception. One feature of it was a meeting with speeches in Castle Garden, situated on an island and connected with the main by a bridge. As he was passing with his friends over this bridge it gave way under the vast number of people who had pressed on it; but no one was drowned, although some of the Jackson party were drenched. The incident furnished Major Jack Downing with a good joke at the expense of Van Buren, whom he represented as getting safely to land by grasping the tail of Jackson's horse.

Of the reception in Philadelphia Jackson wrote on June 10, to his adopted son, as follows: "It is now candlelight and the business of the day has just closed, and dinner is just eaten. I shall not attempt to describe the feelings of the people. Suffice it to say that it surpassed anything I ever witnessed. . . . I shall leave here tomorrow at nine A.M. I have seen Dr. Phisic who encourages me, and says my heart is not affected in any way, and the pain in the side can be removed by cupping. I sincerely wish my trip was over. Except to my Hermitage, or to the watering places, I think it is the last journey I shall ever undertake."

Of his reception in New York he says, June 14, 1833, still writing to his son:

It is now past ten, and I have just returned to my lodgings, after visiting three towns in New Jersey, Newark, Paulus Hook, and Elizabeth Town, and passing over in procession three fourths of the city of New York, castle garden, a party at the Mayor's, at Genl. Morton's, and the garden, and having taken a warm bath feel no injury from the fatigues of the day and will leave here at six oclock to morrow morning. I have witnessed enthusiasms before, but never before have I witnessed such a scene of personal regard as I have to day, and ever since I left Washington. I

have bowed to upwards of two hundred thousand people to day. Never has there been such affection of the people before I am sure been evinced. Party has not been seen here. My health is improving, but my head being exposed to the sun at Philadelphia for five hours my face has been completely blistered. It is healing. You have heard of the providential escape we made on our landing at Castle Garden. Mr. McLane will have informed, before this reaches you, of all the circumstances.

The remainder of the letter refers to things domestic. It contains charming mention of his daughter-in-law, Sarah York Jackson, her small daughter Rachael, Emily Donelson, the wife of his secretary, and her several children. Although not written for the eyes of posterity, I do not think it improper to print it, for it gives us a glimpse of a tender side of the old man, which many people have not known that he possessed.

"I rejoice," he wrote, "to hear of yours, Sarah's and my dear little Rachael's good health with Emily's and her dear little children's good health. To all present me affectionately, and kiss my sweet little pet for me. Tell Sarah I will be happy to hear from her in the promised letter, and I hope little Rachael will not forget me until I return, need not say to you and her to take care of her, my fears are that we all dote upon her too much. I hope not so much as to forget that we owe her to a kind providence, and to Him our first love is due, next we may justly place upon her our affections as his best gift. It is late I am fatigued, and can only add my prayers for your healths and safety until I return, and resign you and Sarah with my dear little Rachael, Emily, Jackson, Mary Rachael, and John, to His holy keeping, to all whom present my blessings." Andrew Jackson learned to write before Noah Webster made his dictionary, but that, of course, does not excuse him for spelling badly. Many people in this country learned to write well without the aid of that lexicographer. But say what you will about his spelling and rhetoric, neither Noah Webster nor any other pious New Englander can find fault with the tender feeling and firm religious faith displayed in this private and personal letter.

On the visit to Boston we have nothing from Jackson himself; but the newspapers of that city give us ample testimony to the cordiality of his reception there. On June 22 the editor of the *Atlas*, not of Jackson's political faith, made this remark, polite if not cordial:

The Chief Magistrate of these United States arrived in this city last evening. He was received by the proper authorities in the most honorable and respectable manner, and by the citizens generally without ridiculous or servile exhibition of sycophancy. The scenes acted in New York and Philadelphia were not witnessed in our sober city. The procession was conducted in the most honorable and peaceable manner and according to a plan designated in our yesterday's paper. The President rode through the streets in an open barouche with the Mayor, and bowed on each side to an immense concourse that lined the streets and filled the windows. He looks very old and his features show that the withering hand of time has been laid heavily upon him since we last saw him about eight years ago. How long he will remain with us we know not, probably until Tuesday next. The weather was rather unpropitious for the ceremony—it rained slightly during the latter part of the afternoon.

Jackson arrived on Friday, June 21. The next day at 10 o'clock he was escorted by a company of cadets to Faneuil Hall, and then to the State House, where he was received by Governor Lincoln and other prominent men. The governor made a speech of welcome in which much was said about the prosperity of the manufactures of the commonwealth and the thriving state of agriculture which had "filled every valley with a busy population and made every waterfall subservient to the devices of human skill and ingenuity." Commerce, he said, flourished on the basis of home manufactures and trade in raw materials. In 1833 Massachusetts had fairly completed the transition from a shipbuilding and importing to a manufacturing state. The governor also mentioned the "schools and seminaries of learning, those noble monuments of our Fathers' wisdom, and patriotism, and piety; and the Hospitals and charitable Asylums for the benefit of the destitute and the afflicted, the benevolent provisions of more recent times." And then came a charming whispering of the New England conscience. "We

speak not of these things," said he as though he feared he had been boasting, "in the pride of local vanity. They are the legitimate fruits of our happy Republican form of Government."

After the speech came a collation in the Senate chamber, and in the afternoon there was a parade of the militia on the Common. Jackson reviewed the soldiers and then rode along their front as they stood drawn up around the Common. On Sunday the President went to the Old South Church in the afternoon. He had taken cold from exposure in the rain on the preceding day and could not leave his room in the morning. In the same afternoon, however, he drove out to Mount Auburn, although the weather was bad, which caused the editor of the *Boston Commercial Gazette* to observe: "The President was injudicious to expose himself to a heavy searching atmosphere, so soon after taking medicine. We hope he will be more prudent in the future." This ride was spoken of as "an airing as far as Mount Auburn," which led the same editor to exclaim: "An *airing* indeed! The President might as well be buried at once at Mount Auburn, as to take another such airing."

Monday he was indeed more unwell than on Sunday and the ceremonies arranged for the day had to be abandoned. He was bled and Dr. Warren came to see him and prescribed rest in his chamber. Tuesday he was better but remained indoors by the advice of the physician. It was during these two days that Josiah Quincy, as he relates, read to him, and heard him make the playful remark attributing the whimsical writings of Jack Downing to Van Buren. On Wednesday the visitor proceeded on his journey, first to Cambridge, where Harvard gave him the honorary degree of LL.D.¹ He was also tendered a reception by the president and fellows of the college. Next he went to Charlestown, and, received at the entrance by officials and militia, repaired to Bunker Hill, where he was addressed for fifteen minutes by Edward Everett under the shadow of the unfinished monument.

¹ The address in English was made by President Quincy, and Francis Bowen, the "first scholar of the Senior Class," delivered a Latin oration. A hymn by Joseph Story closed the ceremonies, which were modeled after the ceremonies when President Monroe was honored.

The shaft, we are told, was dressed with the flags of various nations, but nothing is said to show whether or not a British flag was among them. Next he mounted and had the plans of the famous battle pointed out to him, "and," says the editor of the *Gazette*, "nothing, however minute in detail, but seemed of interest." This done he joined the citizens in a collation, made a visit to the navy yard, and then proceeded on his journey northward. He reached Salem by way of Lynn and Marblehead late in the afternoon, so exhausted by the crowded events of the day that at the town's barrier he placed friends in the carriage of state to ride over the prescribed route, where the people waited to cheer, and he himself in a private carriage went rapidly to the hotel where he was to spend the night.

Thursday he proceeded to Lowell, where great exertions had been made to spread before him the results of the labors of the newly created manufactures. The factories were shut down and operatives, owners, and their relatives mingled amiably on the streets in gala attire. More than three thousand young women employed in the mills, dressed in white with sashes to represent the places of employment, lined the streets in ranks four deep — "a mile of girls," one of the visitors pronounced them. At his hotel Jackson viewed the procession as it filed by. From Lowell he passed northward, received with enthusiasm as far as he went until he gave up his progress at Concord, New Hampshire.

No incident of the journey attracted more attention than the degree conferred by Harvard. It was voted by an unexpected meeting of the overseers, hastily assembled by President Quincy, and those who did not approve the degree pronounced it unauthorized and null. Among them was the editor of *The Atlas* who made the following comment:¹

If this honorary degree had been a thing which the President might reasonably have expected, and if the omission to confer it might have justly been complained of by his friends as a want of decent and respectful hospitality, then we would by no means have desired that the University should have been sparing in their Latin or their parchment. But the truth is that neither the President nor his friends would ever have expected any such

¹ June 27, 1833.

compliment. It is a mere gratuitous piece of flattery on the part of the College, undignified, and uncalled for; especially when it is considered that the steps which the statutes of the University require to lay the foundation for a degree were not taken; that the degree itself was voted at an irregular and illegal meeting of the Overseers; and that it is for the above reasons informal, invalid, and in fact no degree at all — the sealing wax and the signatures to the contrary notwithstanding. We doubt much whether, had the President been informed of these facts, he would have condescended to have accepted it.

Had General Jackson's literary reputation entitled him to a degree, had he been such a scholar as Jefferson or Madison, no political grudge ought to have prevented the University from paying him the honors to which he would have been justly entitled. Collegiate degrees are the exclusive rewards of literary excellence; and it is absurd to confer them upon a man who pretends to no literary eminence at all. There was just as much reason for making him D. D. as LL.D — a Doctor of Divinity as a Doctor of Laws, and we wonder that the University in their haste to cover the old gentleman with incongruous honors, had not conferred both degrees at once! We hope the President will enter into the spirit of this proceeding, and will return the compliment which the University has paid him, by making its President Brigadier-General by brevet.

When these pointed words were written Richard Hildreth, the historian, was one of the editorial writers for *The Atlas*, but I have no means of showing that he wrote them.¹

For a long time it has been the custom to say, jokingly, that Jackson replied to the president of Harvard, when the degree was conferred, in a jargon of Latin words borrowed out of a scant knowledge of the Latin phrases he had encountered in the law. Persons a little better informed will add that in reality Jackson did not utter these words, but that Major Jack Downing made him say them. This statement is no more true than the first. Major Jack Downing has no letter in his book about Jackson's visit to Harvard. But one is there telling how Jackson came to Downingsville, the home of doughty major, and describing Jackson's speech there. It is in this speech that he makes "the General"

¹ See Andrew McF. Davis, "Jackson's LL.D. — A Tempest in a Teapot," in 2 *Proceedings*, xx. 490.

use the Latin phrases generally attributed to him at Harvard. While the distinguished guest was speaking, Major Jack said in Jackson's ear: "You must give 'em a little Latin, Doctor," whereupon the "Doctor" said: "E pluribus unum, my friends, sine qua non." With that the speech ended and the handshaking began.

Perhaps Charles Augustus Davis, the author of the Jack Downing letters, did more to create the caricature that has long passed for the real Jackson than anyone else. He established it in the public mind, and Parton was under its influence when he wrote his entertaining biography. The words of Josiah Quincy, quoted near the beginning of this paper, are more reliable. Jackson was, as Quincy said, "a knightly personage — prejudiced, narrow, mistaken upon many points, it might be, but vigorously a gentleman in his high sense of honor and in the natural straight-forward courtesies which are easily to be distinguished from the veneer of policy."

It is difficult to reconstruct the personality of this man who left a stronger impress on his time than any other American then living. Strength of will he had and the power to make others do. Who rides at the head if he has them not? But in his ordinary moments he was gentle and pleasant, as other men. He had a high sense of dignity, he was an urbane host, he would always outdo you in hospitality, and he had a kind of chivalry that one does not laugh at, when he sees it face to face. Through these qualities a bad fairy had shot streaks of prejudice and suspicion. When they were apparent he was unpleasant. But when not called to the surface his finer qualities filled him with a charm that made men trust and women adore.

Another feature of the Jackson visit to Boston was the good order maintained by the crowds. In *The Atlas* we read:

The deportment of the "populace," as a high blooded aristocrat styled the highly respectable concourse of citizens that surrounded the Commons during the Military Review on Saturday, was marked throughout by the highest degree of good order and regularity. The same may be said of the conduct of the thousands that flocked to the State House when the President was received by Governor

Lincoln. The Vice President [Van Buren] we learn expressed his surprise at the circumstance to one of the assistant marshals, who happily and justly replied that "it was no more than what might be expected in a land, where every man felt himself to be a peace officer."

Even more important than this evidence, because we have it from one of the presidential suite, is the following letter from Major A. J. Donelson, to his wife, whom he had left in Washington. It is dated at Boston on June 24, 1833, and is in the A. J. Donelson Papers in the Library of Congress. It reads as follows:

DEAR EMILY: — This day was set apart for visits to the Navy Yard, Charleston Bunkerhill and Cambridge, where arrangements had been made for the reception of Uncle, and for some interesting ceremonies, such as the conferring of a Degree of Doct. of laws, a speech from Mr. Everett and a presentation of some revolutionary relics, but the state of Uncle's health has compelled him to decline them all and take medicine. His indisposition is the result of cold which has occasioned some fever, but his Physician Dr. Warren thinks that the bleeding already resorted to and a little purgative medicine with rest, will restore him by tomorrow. If so a part of the engagements which I have mentioned will be fulfilled and Uncle will then take his departure for Lowell, where if his health is not perfectly secure I hope he will terminate his journey eastward. It is with great difficulty we can proportion his compliance with the kind wishes of the people to see him, to what is safe on the score of comfort and health, but nothing is omitted which can be done. You can scarcely conceive of the anxiety to be introduced to him and of the splendid manner in which the hospitality of the public as well as of individuals is offered to him.

One of the most striking differences in the character of this population compared with ours in the south and west is its order and habitual respect for those in authority. This characteristic is manifest in every public display that we have seen here. The great mass of the population that were assembled in the common when Uncle arrived were in the rear of a file of many thousand little children thro' which he passed and which was preserved unbroken altho you could hear nothing but shouts and the roar of Artillery. The idea that the parents of these little innocents had trusted them to such a multitude gave a moral to the scene

which touched the heart more than the senses. In a community less favored by the influence of common schools and the general diffusion of instruction and religion such a scene could not have been sustained. . . .

How deeply into the strata of society did the hostility to Jackson in New England penetrate? The question demands careful examination before a reliable answer can be made. But one may venture to mention some of the facts bearing on it as revealed in the visit to Boston in 1833. The leading Whigs showed no enthusiasm for the visitor, but they treated him with kindness personally and they paid tributes of respect to the office he filled. The same thing was true, no doubt, of most of the ministers, important business men, and teachers. But the great majority of the people had no prejudices against Jackson, until aroused against him by political leaders. The evidence of Josiah Quincy, the newspapers of the day, and Major Donelson shows that he was received with genuine enthusiasm. Indeed, Jackson began his presidential career as a popular man, even with those who had not voted for him.

It may surprise some to know what distinguished men of the old federalist party held out their hands to him in these days. One of them was Harrison Gray Otis, who, in a letter to Van Buren, on May 20, 1829, anticipated the tour of 1833 and urged that Jackson, if he undertook it, would be his guest while in Boston. Otis was then mayor of Boston and he wrote as follows:

MY DEAR SIR, — It has been intimated, I know not on what authority, that the President entertains thoughts of visiting this part of the country. It would gratify me to know confidentially or otherwise his inclination on this subject or his determination if it is matured. My belief is that he would meet with a satisfactory and honorable reception and that such a step would be productive of advantage to his administration and consequently I trust to the country. Our friend Mr. [John H.] Eaton will recollect that when the President was at Washington, pending the Seminole affair, I wrote to him expressing the sentiment that a visit here from Genl. Jackson would be well received. Events have added to the number and cogency of the reasons I could urge in favor of it now, but which it might seem obtrusive in me to particularize.

It would also gratify me if he would do me the honor to make my house his head quarters while here. My official relationship to the city would make such an arrangement proper and I am aware of no consideration which forbids it.

My impressions of his character were originally derived from my father who cherished a high respect for him, and for whose memory he expressed friendly recollections in the only conversation I had the honor to hold with him. I have regarded with disgust the outrages heaped upon his private character and domestic relations. It is also known to Mr. Eaton who sat at my elbow in the Senate, that I concurred with him and my lamented friend Mr. [Rufus] King in their general views of the persecution of that period, the absence from Washington before its consummation prevented my taking part in the proceedings respecting it. His prejudications against me as a political offender have been and perhaps are yet very deep. But as he knows well what it is to be misrepresented, I am content to believe he will one day reverse these by writ of error *coram nobis*.

In the late electioneering contest I took no part having been for many years upon the shelf. But I am free to own that had I voted, it would have been in favor of his competitor; simply because I discerned no glaring errors in his administration and because I should have felt justified in yielding to the influence of local circumstances. Personal predilections and expectations *you must know* I could have none. Of the latter I have none under any administration. You would find in your archives no applications from me for office or preferment from the beginning of my long career and I feel that no allurements of this nature would again seduce me from my allegiance to my household Gods. For the rest I am persuaded that the presence of the President in this section of the Union would produce a salutary effect upon the public sentiment. It would contribute to heal divisions, dissipate prejudices, baffle intrigues and determine and consolidate in a form favorable to general harmony and the success of his administration, the opinions of very many whose votes in favor of another, may be ascribed to a cold acquiescence rather [than] to an ardent preference. And though I could not in any case be otherwise than proud of the honor of extending my humble hospitality to so distinguished a guest, I should not presume to offer it, had not the position which I occupy, seemed to authorize the liberty on my part, and on his, the propriety of accepting the invitation, and did I not believe him superior to the influence of obsolete denominations. The 4 July, or the Commencement at

Cambridge in August are days of great concourse, and favorable to the despatch of ceremonials with large numbers at one time. Should the President, for whatever reason, decline doing me the honor of occupying apartments in my house, it will still be my wish to be charged with procuring accomodations for him elsewhere. . . .

Otis had been a distinguished federalist and had gone into occultation with his party. Moreover, he had been drawn into a political quarrel with John Quincy Adams in the preceding presidential campaign, and it had grown into a violent personal controversy. It was natural, therefore, that he should have made this offer of friendship to the Jacksonians, to whom many other federalists had fled. Nevertheless, it could hardly have happened if Jackson had been as unpopular in New England in 1829 as in the latter part of 1833, when the removal of the deposits had been decreed.

The month of June, when he was in New England, was the time of crisis in Jackson's career. While in his person he represented the plain people, in his policies he had not yet gone over to their side against the ideals and interests of the wealthy classes. He had not opposed the tariff, to which men of wealth rallied in all parts of the union, nor had he espoused in a conspicuous degree the cause of the states against the ideals of those who wished to see a strong union, ideals to which the propertied class was in general devoted. It was in his attack on the second Bank of the United States that he discarded the sympathy of the superior classes and took his place in our history as their opponent. When he stood before President Quincy to receive the highest honor Harvard could offer him, he was on the point of taking that step. Nothing that came across his way in New England led him to such action. It was decided upon before he left Washington. But it is interesting to us to reflect that the interval of relaxation he now gave himself was adorned with the last outbursts of general applause and adulation he was to know. Once in the new battle he fought it through to success. He believed in his heart that the Bank was a dangerous monopoly, and he planted his idea so deeply in the mind of the nation that time has not uprooted it. He came out of the conflict scarred in many parts; and it may

be that he looked back to the reception on the Common, the address at Harvard, the ceremonies at Bunker Hill, the streets lined with white-clad young women in Lowell, and the other manifestations of delight that met him as far as Concord, New Hampshire, as the last thoroughly cloudless events of his career.

Mr. BANCROFT read a paper on Frederic Harrison, based upon an intimacy of long standing and giving the personal opinions of the man on his work and his relations to public events. An Oxford graduate, a barrister in good practice, a member of important Royal Commissions on law and trades unions, a professor in the Inns of Court, and an alderman in the London County Council, he yet found time to write and lecture on a large variety of subjects, and for seventy years published notable and scholarly essays. A leading Positivist in England, a critic of recognized standing and an autobiographer as well as biographer, he has embodied in his writings the best of his period and to the end retained a living interest in humanity. Mr. Bancroft told of a visit paid to Mr. Harrison at Bath and gave a vivid account of the man and his work, quoting freely from the conversation, which covered many phases of the man's life and of his intentions. Disclaiming the title of a man of letters, Mr. Harrison dwelt upon his teaching of Positivism, and he turned late to literature, but not as a profession. His last years were touched with pessimism, but he remained active to the last and had a new volume to be published before Easter. Mr. Harrison was elected a Corresponding Member of this Society, March 14, 1901, and died at Bath, England, January 13, 1923.

PROLOGUE TO ZARA, 1776

Mr. FORD then said:

At the last meeting of the Society Mr. Robert G. Shaw placed in my hands a MS. just obtained from a London bookseller, and with his usual modesty said that it might not be of real value but was curious. It purports to contain

"Prologue for Opening the Theatre at Boston" and under this caption is written by another hand "while it was garrisoned by the British Troops under com[mand] of Sr. Wm. Howe." It ends with the stage direction: "Curtain Rises & discovers Zara & Selima." That "Zara" was performed by British officers who sought diversion when shut into Boston by the colonial forces is well known, and the Society possesses the only known copy of the play-bill announcing the performance on a Saturday afternoon at Faneuil Hall. It is also known that General John Burgoyne, then in Boston, wrote a prologue for the occasion, which was delivered by Francis Lord Rawdon, then recently made a captain in the 63d Regiment of Foot,¹ later an aid to Lieutenant General Sir Henry Clinton, and subsequently known as Francis Rawdon-Hastings, first Marquis of Hastings and second Earl of Moira, with a long and honorable service in India. The "Prologue" is in *The Dramatic and Poetical Works* of Burgoyne, published in 1808 (II. 238), but is without date and the title states merely that it was "spoken by Lord Rawdon, at Boston." A comparison of the printed with this newly discovered manuscript version showed differences, and sufficient to warrant a republication. The writing naturally raised the question whether the manuscript could be the original, or a draft, or a contemporary copy, or a later transcription. The paper is non-conclusive, for it is such as could have been used over a period of fifty years, and bears the water-mark of "C. Taylor." The presence of the stage direction, which is not in the printed version, suggests that it was the original paper, or one made for the actual performance. The writing, in that event, ought to be that of Burgoyne, or of Rawdon, or of the director of the play. The Society possesses the letters which Burgoyne wrote to General Heath when with the convention prisoners in Boston, but I conclude that the body of the letters is by a secretary and only the signatures are by Burgoyne — not enough to establish a certainty, but enough to suggest a similarity of writing. A photostat sent to the British Museum has confirmed my doubt, for Mr. J.

¹ Before that he was a Lieutenant in the 5th Regiment, commanded by Earl Percy.

P. Gilson, of the Department of Manuscripts, courteously replies to my question, as follows: "It seems to me clear that it is not his [Burgoyne's] writing, the characteristics of which are both marked and constant." Mr. Shaw generously gives his ms. to the Society, as belonging with the play-bill of "Zara." The following is the manuscript version, the variations from the printed capitals and punctuation excepted, being indicated in the notes. As will be seen six new lines are contained in the Shaw MS.

Prologue for Opening the Theatre at Boston when it was garrisoned by the British Troops under Command of Sir Wm. Howe.

In Britain once, (it Stains the ¹ historic Page,)
Freedom was Vital Struck by Party Rage,
Cromwell the Fever Watch'd, The Knife Supply'd
She Madden'd, and by Suecide she Died
Amidst her ² Groans Sunk every liberal Art
That Polish'd Life or Humanis'd the Heart
Then Sunk ³ the Stage quell'd by the Bigots Roar
Truth fled ⁴ with Sense, and Shakespear Charm'd no more.

To Sooth the Times too much resembling those
And lull the Care tir'd thought, This Stage Arose
Proud if You Hear, Rewarded if You're Pleased
We Come to Minister to Minds Diseased
For ⁵ you who Guardians of A Nations Cause
Unsheath Your Swords ⁶ to Vindicate the ⁷ Laws
The Tragic Scene lifts ⁸ Glory up to View
And bids heroic Virtue live Anew!⁹
With Ravish'd Ears and Emulative fire
Rise Britons to th' Examples You Admire;¹⁰
Unite the Warriors ¹¹ Fame the Patriots ¹² Care
And while You *burn* to Conquer Wish to Spare.
The Comic Muse ¹³ Presides o'er Social Life
And Forms the Parent husband,¹⁴ friend, and Wife
Tis her's the Mind from Prejudice to Save
And Call Your Old Good Humour from the Grave ¹⁵
To Paint from Nature, and with Touches ¹⁶ Nice,

¹ th' ² the ³ fell ⁴ fell ⁵ To ⁶ the sword ⁷ her
⁸ holds ⁹ in you ¹⁰ These two lines are omitted in print
¹¹ patriots ¹² warriors ¹³ scene ¹⁴ husband, father
¹⁵ These two lines are omitted in print. ¹⁶ colours

Shew us ourselves, and Laugh us out of Vice.
Say then ¹ Ye Boston Prudes, if Prudes there Are
Is this A Task unworthy of the Fair?
Shall Form,² Decorum Piety Refuse
A Call on Beauty to *Conduct* ³ the Muse?
And by the Influence of the Young and Chaste
Diffuse Instruction Charity and Taste ⁴
Perish the Narrow thought, the Slandorous tongue
Where the Heart's Right, the Action Can't be wrong
Behold the Test, Mark at the Curtains Rise
How Malice Shrinks, Abash'd from ⁵ Zara's Eyes.

Curtain Rises and discovers Zara and Selima.

Prof. MERRIMAN spoke of his recent attendance at Meetings of the Real Academia de la Historia at Madrid, and of his search for manuscripts in its library.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Mr. STIMSON.

¹ Now say,

² Will fame

³ conduct "Support" is interlined.

⁴ These two lines are omitted in print.

⁵ at

MARCH MEETING.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 8th instant, at three o'clock, P.M., the first Vice-President, Mr. LORD, in the chair.

In the absence of the Recording Secretary, Grenville H. NORCROSS was chosen Recording Secretary, *pro tempore*.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From John Whittemore Farwell, of Boston, copies from several papers of Arodi Thayer (1743-1831) on his allowance for services as Marshal at Boston and at Philadelphia.

From J. B. Blatterman, of Shreveport, Louisiana, seven letters written by Edward Everett to his father, Mr. G. W. Blatterman, of Kentucky, 1857-1859.

From Dr. J. Collins Warren, the biographical sketch of General Joseph Warren by Alexander H. Everett in his own handwriting, given to Dr. Warren's father, Dr. J. Mason Warren, in 1862, by Edward Everett; and other papers.

By purchase, the account book of Samuel Cowell, of Wrentham, 1769-1807; also a broadside of "A True and Particular Narrative of the late Tremendous Tornado, or Harricane, at Philadelphia and New York, on Sabbath-Day, July 1, 1792," printed at Boston (Ford, 2671).

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following gifts:

From Misses Sarah and Joanna Williams, of Yonkers, New York, a crayon portrait of Major-General John Thomas, their great-great-grandfather, drawn by Benjamin Blyth, Salem, 1777;¹ with Blyth's bill, February 15, 1777, in which he charges for the picture, 4.4.0, and 1.16.0 for the frame and glass.

From Henry Winchester Cunningham, of a lithographic view of the Back Bay, Charles Street, and the Common from a sketch taken in 1823 from the balcony, 61 Beacon Street, by Miss Mary Jane Derby afterwards the wife of Rev. Ephraim Peabody.

¹ McStauffer, *American Engravers*, I. 23, and Dunlap, *History of the Arts of Design* (Bayley-Goodspeed), III. 283.

From the Estate of Miss Edith Andrew, gloves worn by Gen. John C. Frémont, given to her father, Gov. John A. Andrew, by Mrs. J. F. Whipple.

From Mrs. Kingsmill Marrs, a miniature portrait of her late husband, painted by Mrs. Homer Saint-Gaudens about 1910 from photographs, and some volumes to be added to the Kingsmill Marrs Collection.

From Miss Carrie Josephine Bailey, of Lowell, Mass., through Miss Linda S. Armstrong, three daguerreotypes, one of a bust of George Washington, another of a bust of Shakespeare, and the third of a copperplate, in reverse, of "The Art of Making Money Plenty," by Nathaniel Dearborn, Boston. A copy of this engraving has been presented to this Society by Walter Rowland.

From Mrs. Theodore P. Burgess, of Dedham, a mahogany case, in which has been placed her gift of relics of Col. Henry Bromfield (1727-1820).

The President, in the absence of the Corresponding Secretary, reported the receipt of a letter from Charles Warren of Dedham, accepting his election as a Resident Member of the Society.

The Vice-President announced the appointment of the following Committees, in preparation for the Annual Meeting in April:

To nominate Officers for the ensuing year: Messrs. ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN, WILLIAM CAMERON FORBES, and LAWRENCE SHAW MAYO.

To examine the Library and Cabinet: Messrs. FREDERICK CHEEVER SHATTUCK, GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE, and GEORGE GREGERSON WOLKINS.

To examine the Treasurer's Accounts: Messrs. CHARLES PELHAM GREENOUGH, and HAROLD MURDOCK.

Mr. PAUL R. FROTHINGHAM spoke at length on the "Assembly of the League of Nations," its manner of operating and the personalities it contained.

Mr. ROBERT M. LAWRENCE read "Notes on the Early Settlers of Massachusetts," based upon his researches in family history.

Mr. NORCROSS offered two letters on the Boston fire of 1872, written immediately after the event by a former member of the Society.

SAMUEL LOTHROP THORNDIKE TO WILLIAM H. GARDINER.

2 PEMBERTON SQUARE,
December 2, 1872.

MY DEAR SIR,—I shall forward my monthly statement by the next steamer. I write a few lines today in review of a fortnight as dismal in some respects as can well be imagined—but in other respects most cheering. There are individual cases of great calamity to large land-holders or owners of great amounts of insurance stocks. Some of these of course are people whom we have been accustomed to consider among the safe and solid men of wealth. I learn that Mr. Edward Brooks has had his income cut down from \$60,000. to about \$8,000. The other Brookses must have suffered somewhat. James Codman and John Sturgis's wife and the rest of that family have suffered exceedingly. *Per contra* many of our richest men have not lost a *sou*. I presume that John Forbes and Thayer, etc., etc., had not a foot of merchantile real-estate or a share of insurance stock among them.

The loss *has* fallen mainly upon the class of people who had large stocks of goods on hand—commission houses, jobbers, and the like. And it looks now as if the loss of these goods is to stimulate rather than depress the manufacturing interests. The Lowell Company lost but little. They had made little however during the last year, and it is by a mere falling back upon their reserves, and because they think that the community needs money at this time if ever, that they divide \$30. Mr. Jewett has broken down in health with the vexations of the past year, and now takes a vacation of a few months. Sampson under the supervision of Mr. Amory and Mr. Burnham will hold the Treasurer's power: or rather the office will be put in commission of the whole board of Directors.

Do you not think that our office is fortunate in regard to the fire? So little real estate and so little insurance stock is a rare piece of luck. That is to say,—I suppose that the Cushings' land will be worth almost as much without the buildings as with them: their insurance stock is not 5% of their whole property: something is saved in the way of insurance. Mrs. Dexter loses nothing except a little insurance stock: Mrs. Cleveland nothing at all, if her silver at Shreve's proves to be all safe: and the Perkinses nothing at all except a few nights' sleep.

You have heard of poor Mr. Dexter's death. He caught his cold in superintending the opening of the vaults under Trinity.

Faithfully yours,
S. L. THORNDIKE.

2 PEMBERTON SQUARE,
December 7, '72.

MY DEAR SIR,—I forward the monthly statement enclosed.

There is not much more to communicate at present on the great subject of the fire. It is uncertain how the insurances will turn out—for the Mutual Offices are to have no end of trouble in settling up their affairs. Many persons having policies upon which no loss has happened will make objection to cancelling them, and therefore outstanding risks will have to be computed. Many others will make as much delay as possible in paying up assessments. The amount which the Cushings have at stake is not large, for the buildings which have been burnt were always considered by the companies of small value in proportion to the land, and they would never take, as you remember, large risks upon the stores.

I mentioned that the American and the Mercantile are the survivors of the Boston offices which took fire-risks. This was not mere chance, but the fact that their business was largely Marine. They are very sound. I have given them much of our out-of-town insurance, including yours at Brookline, upon the principle that the suburbs may still insure in Boston. I have also let them have \$10,000. upon C. Avenue. The Mass. Mutual policies I have not yet disturbed, as they are still reputed worth nearly their face, but in view of the probable trouble in settlement, of which I just spoke, I shall reinsure these at the London & Liverpool. I have given the L. & L. \$15,000. upon Temple Place, to replace the Fireman's and two of the Mutuals (\$5000. each,) which are beyond hope. I have also given the L. & L. several other risks belonging to our clients, and have given some to one or two other London offices, and to offices in New York, etc. Rates are pretty high, nearly 50% more than of old, but I have done pretty well in this respect, on the whole.

I need not say how I sympathize with you so far away from immediate, daily knowledge of what has happened, and what has been and is being done to remedy it. I have no doubt that you would willingly exchange for the moment the view of the blue Mediterranean from Mentone for a glimpse of the ruins of Milk and Summer Streets. It must be harder for you than for me, and I assure you I have not slept upon roses. However nobody desponds.

Give my regards to the ladies, and tell them that it's all right, —but that I still wish to preach a little sermon from your mouth upon the text of the fire, to the effect that it will not be

well to buy up all the wares of all the art and curiosity dealers in Rome until we see how the spring dividends are coming in. I can fancy you dilating upon this theme. For yourself, I know that you will be sparing in everything except candles.

Say to Miss Gardiner that I have had a visit from Fritz, and that he was as white as ever, and — as irritable. So I presume he is well. I have also had a call from a . . . [*incomplete.*]

Mr. FORD spoke as follows:

At the meeting in March, 1922, Dr. Nichols presented to the Society a very valuable collection of historical manuscripts, being the papers of Governor William Livingston of New Jersey and of his son-in-law, Matthew Ridley of Maryland. The nature of the collection was then outlined and the source whence obtained was given.¹ Miss Sara Norton died during the summer and a large addition to the papers was found by her sister, Miss Elizabeth Gaskell Norton, set aside for delivery to the Society. That addition has now been received in the names of the sisters and much increases the historical importance of the Livingston-Ridley papers. Public or commercial private correspondence, miscellaneous accounts and records, letters and drafts of letters, complete the earlier acquisition and furnish a record quite unequalled in its relations, personal and official.

Mr. Alexander Sedgwick found among the Sedgwick papers a letter-book of Matthew Ridley, July, 1783, to April, 1785, and generously adds it to the letter-books in the Society, thus making the series more complete. It comprises his mercantile letters from Paris and London in the first years of the peace and pictures the uncertainties and adventures in trade with the United States at that time.

The volume on "Broad sides" (Collections, LXXV) is calling out hitherto unknown examples of those issues, one of which relates to the so-called Boston "Massacre." It is decorated with a heading of five coffins each bearing the initials of one of the killed, and with head lines that would match those of a yellow journal of to-day: On the Death of Five/young Men who/was Murthered,/March 5th 1770./ By the 29th Regi/ment. This interesting piece was found in the hands of a collector in New Hampshire.

¹ *Proceedings*, LIV. 225.



On the Death of Five
young Men who
was Murthered,
March 5th 1770.
By the 29th Regi-
ment.

MOURN O my Friends, let solemn numbers flow,
From thy sad thoughts, fit for the scenes of Woe,
For in *King-street* their breathless Bodies lay;
For Dead, ah! Dead for ever Dead are they.

By cruel Soldiers, five Men were slain,
Their everlasting happiness to gain;
And when fierce Troops urg'd thick on ev'ry Side,
They spur'd their Fate, and spread Destruction wide.

Till in their Bodies log'd the fatal Lead,
Beat low the Force of Life, and left them dead;
They have made their Drels with scarlet Flame;
Like the deep red which speaks a modest Shame.

My streaming Eyes gush plenteous o'er their hearts;
While thus I strove, the fading honours of my Verse;
For who unmov'd can see their lovely Limbs,
Stretch'd on the Ground, and dy'd with purple Streams.

But now, O! dreadful thoughts, eternal Night,
Has clos'd their Eyes, and veil'd them out of sight;
Shall then the Murd'ers eternal live:
And all the waste, of envious time survive.

While their sad Fate employs a silent woe,
And Death shall seize their Fame and Body too:
Now live dear Youth's, green with immortal Baize,
And let successive Years augment your PRAISE.



LETTER OF EDWIN BYNNER

On behalf of Mr. HOWE, Mr. FORD read the following letter from Edwin Bynner, found by his daughter, Miss Naomi Bynner, among her brother's papers. Mr. Bynner was born in Wales, came early to the United States and after an experience in journalism as editor of the local paper at Clinton, Mass., he took an executive position on one of the railroads of the Commonwealth. He removed to New York, as the heading of the letter shows. His son, Edwin Lasseter Bynner, was a member of this Society.¹

OFFICE OF THE COMMERCIAL STEAMBOAT COMPANY

Edwin Bynner,
Agent.

PIER 11, NORTH RIVER,

NEW YORK, April 23rd, 1865.

MY DEAR SISTER, — Yours of 19th pmkd 22 s, is this day rec^d. Mine of 20th had evidently *not* reached you, as it probably has — ere this. Yes! the boy is safe, preserved, I trust, for good ends. I would I could exchange records with him. The feeling of shame which oppress^d me when it was first determined I should *not* take the field, is not yet dead in me. I fancy I *ought* to have been there: and yet believe as I then did, that it was *the* opportunity of my life. Men make events, less than events make them. Under favoring circumstances blockheads become heroes! However, as usual, 'tis "too late!"

The murder of Lincoln shocked more than it surprised me. All History is alike. In all epochs of its manufacture — the assassin jostles the hero! Through the stirring scenes of Revolution they march side by side.

Your emotions upon rec^t of the news, were not peculiar. In many respects the victim was a *great* man! in more — eminently a good man. No man *so* great in American History ever came so near, so close to the people. During my three interviews with him through all the opportunities I had for observing him, (and that I did so, closely, you will know), I was impressed by the grasp, the comprehensiveness of his intellect; the quickness of his perception, the rapidity and clearness of his analyses, surprised as much as it gratified me, but more than these qualities, the

¹ A Memoir of him, by Barrett Wendell, is in 2 *Proceedings*, IX. 173.

thorough Kindliness, the humanity of the man — was a spectacle. His was a *strong* mind. He had great sagacity, large self control: was wonderfully balanced. Amid intellectualities finer, of much better Culture, such as men would traditionally deem greater, his was the master.

You *felt* its power, rather than observed it. What prevented instant recognition with the many — was the garb of pure simplicity it wore, and simplicity is the natural dress of greatness. I see him now (*unlike* you) as I saw him then, and my recollections of him are of the pleasantest. I have not the least wish to look upon his body, would not, if I could. Aside from the natural horror of murder, it is difficult to decide that his death was — for his fame — untimely. His reputation was at its zenith! Perhaps *his* task was finished. Unborn millions will rank him only next to Washington, whom he undoubtedly resembled more than any other successor. His memory will be green through all the coming ages. His foul taking off converted thousands of bitter foes into mourning friends.

Your publicists, who — a fortnight since — could find for him no more courtly designation than “Gorilla!” have written him — within a week — “Patriot!” the “kindest hearted man who ever occupied a high position,” a “far-seeing and sagacious statesman”! the “wisest man of his time! &c.” So queerly does partisan rancour blind the judgment and degrade humanity!

As for the country? I know no fear. Its Past is but the shadow of its future Grandeur! Its mission is scarce commenced.

The drag upon its measureless wheels has been *but* Slavery, and that is past! The forests of its middle states yet stand. Its South-Western territory is mainly virgin, and every acre will support a man. Filled with inexhaustible mineral wealth, a teeming soil; unguided and ever flowing streams, with the stamp of Power — by the Almighty Hand — everywhere stamped upon it! Mere finite conception cannot compass its ultimate conditions. America — to me — is the outer portal of the Millenium! Through its agencies are to be achieved universal Freedom! ultimate Peace! Heaven — its contiguous realms! Is this a rhapsody? It is the solemnest of prose which can be used in such a prophecy.

I thank God! that in the Past, when to be an Emancipationist was deemed disgraceful! When the general politician looked upon such only with contempt, I labored — not without some good fruit — in the great field. It is difficult to ignore the hand of God in the results. The man who for the showing of the “utter

Barbarism of Slavery" in his place in the Senate, was almost assassinated by its minion, who, contemned of all his Peers for such opinion, was refused place on the humblest Committee, is now the second power in the Land.

Two men — from the dregs of society (in the opinions of the oligarchs) two "mud-sills," managed the war against their conspiracy: seated in the highest posts of the Gov^t, and utterly defeated them! The prophesied "utter barbarism," in the murder of one of these, — becomes historic! and universally believed. The uniformed negro, armed cap-a-pie, first enters conquered Richmond!

James Lloyd Garrison lends a hand to replace upon Sumter's flag-staff, the banner mocked and derided of lordly rebels! The arch-conspirator himself — fallen lower than Lucifer — is a fugitive, and may yet ask alms from the face for whose oppression he ruined his people!

In scores of ways the Poetry of Justice is illustrated, and Poetry — the sublimation of prose and sense; is God-written. I have faith in Johnson. He will rise to his work. The fight is not all fought, the lesson is not all ended. I do not think Seward will recover, but others will fill the vacant place. One man, however great, is but an atom! but I have filled my sheet and must close. God bless you my dear Sister

Yours Edwin

Mr. EDWARD GRAY spoke on

WARD CHIPMAN, JR., 1797-1798.

Ward Chipman the younger, son of Ward Chipman and Elizabeth (Hazen), was born at St. John, N. B., July 10. 1787. The elder Chipman was a Loyalist and settled at St. John, but his mother and sisters remained at Marblehead, Mass., and one of them, Elizabeth, married William Gray the Salem merchant. Ward, Jr., received his early education at St. John, and graduated at Harvard in 1805, where he was the first scholar in his class. After leaving college, he entered his father's law office, and was admitted to the bar of New Brunswick in 1808; later, he studied at the Temple for three years. He was appointed joint agent with his father on the Maine boundary commission in 1815, and made

¹ *Proceedings*, LIV. 331.

voyages to England in 1822 and 1828, in connection with this dispute. In 1824, he was elected speaker of the New Brunswick Assembly, and on his father's death that same year, he was appointed Puisne judge of the Supreme Court in his stead, and a member of the provincial council, and in 1834, chief justice of the Province. He resigned from this office in 1850, and died at St. John, November 26, 1851.

When he was ten years old, he spent the winter at Salem, Mass., with his aunt, Mrs. Gray, and the following letters were written at that period.

WARD CHIPMAN, JR., TO WARD CHIPMAN.

SALEM, Thursday, 19th October, 1797.

MY DEAR PAPA, — I received your very affectionate letter dated 8th October with great pleasure and with Great pleasure I take up my pen to answer it. Mr. Turner's Ball ¹ will be to night which will close the Dancing for this Season I shall not be able to dance at the Ball Mr Turner says that it would be impossible for me to stand up in so short a time.

As to the French I can say little for that as Mouchy is very unsteady he has now been out of town a week and some Mornings when I have went he has been out and therefore I do not expect much from that quarter but Sir you may be assured that I will do my utmost in that and every other respect that will please you.

Our Evening School is not yet opened and Mr Biglow ² says I cannot write well enough to cypher yet I like Mr Biglow very well and think he is an excellent Master he does not make use of any corporeal punishment which I think is very right but he has got a stand and whoever whispers must go there and stay untill he find another whispering and then he goes to his seat and the other comes up.

After School sometimes I go to take a walk but most commonly go to Mr. Gray's store and play there I believe Papa as to cleanli-

¹ "Mr. [William] Turner, the English Master [he married Judith, a daughter of Dr. Holyoke] and Mr. Outen the French Master, have their Dancing Schools." Bentley, *Diary*, II. 268.

² Bentley mentions William Biglow (1773-1844) as keeping a private school, in the brick store corner of Court Street. He was educated at Cambridge and married a Lander. In 1805 he was appointed to the Grammar School in Boston, in place of Samuel Hunt, dismissed.

ness in my dress I am as I always was of which you and Mama can judge best I believe since you have been gone I have not omitted to clean my teeth more than twice. I have not been at Boston since you were here but I was at Cambridge about three weeks ago to see William¹ who is in very good health and he came home last Tuesday Night.

I will now translate those lines you wished me to

*Instrue praeceptis animum nec discere cesses,
Nam sine doctrina vita est quasi mortis imago*

Instruct your mind with good precepts nor cease to learn
For without Learning Life is like the image of Death.

Saturday, 21 October MY DEAR PAPA. I was at the Ball Thursday Night which was very brilliant and there was a greater concourse assembled on that night than on any like occasion Harry² and Miss Pickman opened the Ball with a minuet which was succeeded by a great number of Minuets and Cotillions Lucia³ danced the Fancy Dance with a little lad about her size. I was very much pleased and wished that you and Mama had been here for I know that you would have been very much pleased indeed.

I wish Papa the next time you write you would send me a song wrote in Mr. Murrays and directed to me which is called The Wish which I left in my desk in the office I have just received your letter dated 1st October which gives me great pleasure.

I wish my Dear Papa If you want me to do anything here for you that you would mention it and be assured I will do my utmost to please. I have now written a very long letter which I hope you will not consider tedious. I wish Papa you would present my love and respects to Mama, Aunt Murray and all the Point Family and kiss Fred for I am still in very good health and believe my Dear Papa that I still remain

Your most affectionate and dutiful Son.

WARD CHIPMAN, JUN^r

¹ William Rufus Gray (1783-1831), at this time in Harvard College.

² Henry Gray (1784-1854).

³ Lucia Gray (1788-1844), m. Samuel Swett (1782-1866).

WARD CHIPMAN, JR., TO WARD CHIPMAN.

SALEM, Sunday, 19 November, 1797

DEAR PAPA, — William's Vacation being up about a fortnight ago I returned to Cambridge with him and from thence proceeded to Boston where I staid one night and lodged at Mr Brooks's I called to see Mrs. Sewell¹ where I found Miss Winslow and all very well Mrs. Sewell pulled a lock of my hair out which she put into a locket with some of yours and she said that she intended to get some of Mama's when she saw her next she said she expected to go to Canada in about six weeks or two months she said that her son J[onathan] Sewell had wrote her a letter about a fortnight ago had lost his Son a very fine plump little fellow indeed. I likewise called upon Mrs Coffin but could not see the old lady she being unwell and did not see anybody but Miss Margaret who looked as blooming as a rose.

I could not see Mrs Brooks who was taken very unwell that afternoon at Charlestown and could not return that evening I engaged to dine there that day but Uncle Gray coming that day prevented me dining there as I went to Mr Silvanus Gray's² to dine so as to be ready to accompany him directly after dinner I likewise went to the theater it being the last night but two that Haymarket Theatre was open for this Winter³ I was very much pleased with the performance the Plays that were acted were the Chapter of Accidents⁴ and the Highland Reel.⁵ I likewise bought a little Pocket Book for 4 s. 6 d. first I bought a pair of Gloves for 1 s. 6 d. which was but half price for the man made a mistake and when I went to the theatre Somebody took one out of my pocket the next morning I bought a pair at the same shop the man having just found out his mistake charged me 3 s. 0 d. I likewise bought a comb with a case to carry about in my pocket which cost me half a Pistereen besides some other little things at the Theatre. Last Friday night I received your letter dated Sunday 5th November by Capt. Thomas I want very much to see what is in the Box and Packages but I expect to go to

¹ Esther Quincy, widow of Jonathan Sewell. She lived in Cambridge, in the Lechmere house, corner of Brattle and Sparks Streets.

² (1765-1818), married Charlotte Gallison, who died in 1801.

³ See *Columbia Centinel*, November 1, 1797.

⁴ By Sophia Lee (1750-1824). *Bell's British Theatre*, xxxiv. It was based on Diderot's "Père de Famille," and was first produced in 1780, enjoying an uninterrupted success through many seasons.

⁵ By John O'Keeffe. *Dramatic Works*, iv.

Boston tomorrow with Mr Gray if he goes who is in very bad health being troubled with the ague in the head two of Mr Gray's Russiamen have got in within this week and have made pretty good Voyages and he hourly expects Capt Meak¹ from Calcutta John Prince² sailed Sunday last for the Isle of France as Captain of the Ship he went in before. There is no news here only that there are great convulsions in France the Directory have banished 50 of their members to the Island of Madagascar most of them have escaped the remainder is sent to Madagascar in a cartel I wish Sir you would present my most affectionate love and respect to Mama all the family and all my friends and old Master Pecker³ if he is not dead drunk when you see him as I fancy he will be Mr White of Havrel came to see me last week and I told him I would come to see them at Havrel the next opportunity. The Court sat here last week where I went as much as I was able but that was very little I should like to know what put it into Princes head to run away. but I dear say you will find plenty of servants when you come up in the Spring as a great many have offered but have all gone of to sea but will be back again by the time you come up in the Spring. Harry and I have quite given up the thoughts of marrying yet Harry like his Papa too is charmed with the produce of Marblehead⁴ and is paying his addresses to Miss Lee instead of Miss Lander and has left me quite in the lurch.

We expect to have a merry Thanksgiving as William is going to invite young Swett to spend it with us. The Children are all very well and I think little Ward⁵ resembles you more and more every day and Aunt says he is more like you in disposition and everything than I or any of the children. I here shall conclude a very long but I hope not a tedious letter. and believe my Dear Papa that I still remain your most dutiful and affectionate son.

WARD CHIPMAN, JUNIOR

Dear Papa I would be very much obliged to you if when you come or have a good opportunity you would bring or send the arms of your Fathers Family as Aunt wishes Lucia to work them.

¹ Thomas Meek.

² He had returned from Manila in May, making "the greatest voyage from this Port, tho' not the greatest in proportion to the stock, but upon the actual advance of the Cargo, for Mr. Derby." Bentley, *Diary*, II. 225. He married a daughter of Derby.

³ Jeremiah Pecker (1735-1809) of Haverhill, H. C. 1757, was a school-master at St. John's.

⁴ William Gray married Elizabeth Chipman of Marblehead.

⁵ Ward Gray (1797-1798).

MRS. WILLIAM GRAY, JR., TO WARD CHIPMAN.

SALEM, Nov. 27 [1797].

MY DEAR BROTHER, — I received your kind favours since I wrote Mrs Chipman, and will comply with your requests as far as is in my power the necklace and earrings I have procured and will send now if possible. the silver corks I shall send by another conveyance. the butter you sent is excellent I am afraid you too much diminished your own Store as this is not a season to replace it. I am gratified at your remembrance of our little flock. in a letter to Chip you exactly delineated the features of their several characters. William has with better health recovered the vivacity which formerly enlivened our domestic circle, Harry is animated, sincere, intelligent, and impetuous, as ever. Lucia and Chip are by far the least trouble, but not least agreeable. She has most cunning, and he most firmness when differences of opinion among themselves take place, but both pay implicit obedience to Mr G—— and myself. Chip is really a very manly good Boy and will continue so without much effort, he is generally in fine spirits but sometimes cast a longing look toward home. he now insists that Thomas sailed yesterday, I shall inclose this in his letter, and send the small box to Boston which will be returned to me if the vessel is gone. if it is not Mr Gray will order a jar of Raisins to you. the young scribe writes with so much ease I refer you to him for entertainment. with every sentiment of friendship and affection for your Eliza and yourself I conclude,

Yours sincerely,

E. GRAY.

WILLIAM GRAY, JR., TO WARD CHIPMAN.

SALEM, Nov. 27, 1797.

DEAR SIR, — I rec^d your favour of ult inclosing, three setts of Exchange amtg in the whole to five hundred pounds sterlg, as Bills is at this time below par I have forwarded them to London to my Friends, and shall let the Property remain until I can improve it to Advantage which I expect will be in two Months.

Mrs. Gray and your Son have both wrote.

I supposed it would be very gratefull to both you and Mrs. Chipman, to have Capt. Thomas (at his return) tell you that *he saw Ward*, therefore I proposed his going to Boston, he was

much pleased with the journey, I hope it will meet with your approbation. Ward is a charming Boy, I think he will be all you can wish. I sometimes tell him he must become a subject of the U. States, but he says, no, no, no, he never will desert the British cause, or Government, so you see he is a true Son.

You have made him and his little cousins very happy with the Buns (?) by Thomas, at Breakfast we all partake of the good things.

Please to present my best respects to Mrs Chipman, Believe me,
Yr Most affect^d,

WM GRAY, JR.

MRS. WILLIAM GRAY, JR., TO WARD CHIPMAN.

MY DEAR BROTHER, — I have neglected writing more than I ought but our little Scribe has the pen of a ready writer to him I refer you for all the intelligence we can give. he has talents for every thing and can easily excell. I tell him he has two constitutional foibles he inclines to be indolent and a spendthrift, but he has so many agreeablenesses he pleases without effort. he likes William's jibes better than Harry's arguments or Frank's ¹ dry remarks — or Lucia's observations. we have a merry noisy group, I sometimes reprove, sometimes inform, but oftener laugh at them. I omitted sending those earrings as Mr. Gray thot it too late. I shall send them with the beads and silver corks the next opp'y. Chip begins to count the weeks that intercept your visit with the impatience of a Lover. he concludes to lay aside that character till he breaks forth in the blaze of his long coat, and new spangled waistcoat, on the Belles at St Johns. in such a family as ours he cannot be indulged as much as he has been accustomed to, but he submits to restraint with as good a grace as our Boys. I write in the midst of as much noise as six tongues all talking on different subjects can make. if Mr Grays health was firm I have scarce a wish to form. we expect Capt. Ward ² daily. my affectionate regards are Mrs Chipmans and yours — adieu Yrs ever.

E. GRAY.

Sunday eve, 4 Feby [1798]

¹ Francis Calley Gray (1790-1856).

² William Ward married as his second wife Joanna Chipman, a sister of Mrs. Gray.

WARD CHIPMAN, JR., TO WARD CHIPMAN.

SALEM, Sunday, 11th February, 1798.

MY DEAR PAPA, — I have been very much disappointed this last week in not receiving a letter from you as it is a fortnight ago yesterday since I received one from you. last Monday Morning about 4 o'clock there was a fire broke out in one of Uncle Gray's ships lying in the harbour but most of the property was saved I need not relate the particulars as I suppose you will see them in the Centinel. the Man who was on board was burnt to Death. but he was a Drunken Vagabond.¹ Mr. Mouchy attends Lucia and me every morning from 9 to 10 O'clock. William used to attend him before he returned to College where he went last Thursday and indeed Sir I miss him a great deal as he was always so good natured and so full of his fun He wrote us last night that there [was] a subscription going about in Boston for having an American Vauxhall between Cambridge and Charlestown. Mama when [you] come up will you let me have the pleasure of escorting you to Drink tea as I will bespeak a Box?

At School we have got as far as the 5th Aenead in Virgil in Tully at first we went through the four Orations against Cataline then we went back and began the Book we have now got through the two first Orations and have gone forward to the first Oration after those against Cataline. In Greek we have gone through John and then began Matthew and have got as far as the tenth of Mark and now get in an afternoon from 50 to 80 verses. I cypher at evening School and have got as far as Double Fellowship. What Arithmetic did you study in when you was at College Papa? as Pike² was not formed then. I wish Sir you would present my best love and respects to Mama and all my Friends in which we all join and believe my Dear Papa that I still remain your most dutiful and affectionate Son,

WARD CHIPMAN, JUN^r¹ See Bentley, *Diary*, II. 257.² Nicholas Pike.

ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL, 1922.

THE Annual Meeting was held on Thursday, the 12th instant, at three o'clock, P.M., the President, Mr. LODGE, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From Dr. J. Collins Warren, the binding of forty-five volumes of the Warren Family Papers, from 1773 to 1923, given by him at the April meeting, 1921.¹ This series of papers runs through five generations, Dr. John Warren (1753-1815), Dr. John Collins Warren (1778-1856), Dr. Jonathan Mason Warren (1810-1867), Dr. J. Collins Warren, the donor, and Dr. John Warren. These papers serve to illustrate the progress of medical practice since the beginning of our national life, and cover, the remarkable improvements in medical treatment, the founding of the Harvard Medical School, the introduction of anaesthesia in 1846, and the building of the new Harvard Medical School, in all of which events this family has taken a prominent part.

From the heirs of David Greenough, through Mr. Louis Curtis, the original parchment lease for ninety-nine years of the old Province House property so-called from the Massachusetts General Hospital to David Greenough, dated April 1, 1817, deposited with the Society in February, 1920.

From Miss Mary E. Haven, some papers, 1751-1889, of William Ballard, of Framingham, and of her father, the late Franklin Haven, of Boston. With these are letters of George Peter Alexander Healy to Mr. Haven and Daniel Webster, March and April, 1851, about exhibiting in Faneuil Hall his large painting of Webster replying to Hayne in the United States Senate in 1830; also a letter from Henry Hobson Richardson, architect, Cambridge, September 5, 1871, urging the Committee on the new building of the Brattle Square Church on Clarendon Street, to engage M. Auguste Bartholdi, a French sculptor then visiting this country, to make the models for the tower.

From Percival Merritt, a rare edition of the Account of the Conversion of the Reverend John Thayer, printed in German at Ofen, 1790; also some papers of Lyman James, 1863-64.

¹ *Proceedings*, LIV. 243.

From Charles E. Goodspeed, a number of letters of Robert C. Winthrop, 1840-1870.

From Louis Curtis, several letters of Daniel Webster, 1834-1854.¹

From the heirs of Oliver R. Robins, of Weston, the account book of Benjamin Rand, 1721-1725, of Thomas Rand, 1752-1780, and some old and interesting story-books for children a century ago.

From George Kuhn Clarke, of Needham, biographical and genealogical notes, supplementary to his volume of epitaphs, 1900, in West Needham, now Wellesley.

From Edward Duncanson Bruce, of Shelburne, Nova Scotia, an undated paper purporting to be the order of the Chief Engineer of the Boston Fire Department, given to William L. Burt, postmaster of Boston, on the morning of November 10, 1872. It was picked up by Mr. Bruce's father, Captain Israel Kelley Bruce, whose vessel, the *Saxon*, was at Commercial wharf. It reads:

Mr Burt

is hereby authorized to Blow Buildings or Remove goods

J. S. DAMRELL, *Chief Engineer*.

From Mrs. Frederick Jennings Parsons (Ethel Stoddard), on deposit, two diplomas from Williams College given to Charles Augustus Stoddard, her father, in 1879 and 1882.

By purchase, papers of Caleb Moody, Treasurer of the Second Parish in Newbury, 1706-1773; also several papers of Samuel Sargent, Deputy-Sheriff in Gloucester, 1741-1795.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following accessions:

From Miss Mary E. Haven, a photograph, miniature size, on white opal glass, of Rev. Samuel Kirkland Lothrop, Minister of the Brattle Square Church, Boston.

From Joseph Warren Revere, a flintlock of a gun turned up by a plow in an old French field at Little Lorain near Louisburg, Cape Breton, in 1920.

From Walter Rowlands, a copper-plate engraving of Franklin's "The Art of Making Money Plenty."

From Mrs. Kingsmill Marrs, a photograph of the daguerreotype of the original copper-plate of this Franklin broadside; a lithograph of the broadside by N. Currier, New York, which differs in

¹ *Proceedings*, XLV. 159.

some details; and a photograph of the late Otis Norcross, her father, Mayor of Boston in 1867, taken in Paris in 1860.

From Joseph Fulton Reynolds, a daguerreotype of Ralph Farnham, his great-grandfather, aged 102 years, July 7, 1858, of Acton, Maine, the sole survivor of the Battle of Bunker Hill, who died December 26, 1861.¹

From Mrs. Walter George Read, on deposit, a gold-headed cane inscribed "James Read to James McMurtrie."

Henry Sweetser Burrage, of Kennebunkport, Maine, was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society.

The Society then proceeded to the business of the Annual Meeting, and

Mr. MERRIMAN read the

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

A pleasant feature of the year was the fiftieth anniversary of the election of Mr. Winslow Warren, which was appropriately noticed. Of two hundred and eighty-three resident members admitted since the incorporation of the Society and before Mr. Warren, only nine attained to that distinction.

The publications of the Society in the last year were: *Meade's Headquarters*, 1863-1865, being letters of Col. Theodore Lyman, a former member of the Society, which will probably be the last publication of a notable contemporaneous record by one who participated in the Civil War; a volume of *Collections*, the seventy-fifth in order, "Broad-sides, Ballads &c. printed in Massachusetts, 1639-1800," a list already accepted as authoritative on the subject and which stands as the only full check-list of such rare and interesting issues in any state of the Union; and the *Proceedings* for 1921-1922, the fifty-fifth in the series. The fourth volume of the *Journals of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts, 1722-1723*, has just been distributed, and a list of Massachusetts medals, prepared by Dr. Storer, will be ready in the summer or autumn. In contents and in form this publication promises to establish a standard for like compilations. In the coming year there will be a volume

¹ *N. E. Hist. Gen. Register*, xv. 183. At the time of his death he was aged 104 years, 5 months and 19 days.

of *Proceedings*, one of the *Journal*, a volume of *Collections* — the second volume of the “Warren-Adams Letters” — and the first volume of the Winthrop Papers, beginning a series that as a source of history, public and private, in colonial and provincial New England, if not indeed in the United States, cannot be equalled in size and importance. In the Winthrop and the Dowse foundations the basis has been laid for printing in fitting form records that lie at the very foundation of our history, state as well as national. The *Autobiography of Thomas Jefferson Coolidge* will be published in the early autumn.

The Society has never counted on material returns from the sales of its publications, for the issues have not been of such a character as would make much of an appeal to the reading public. Both *Collections* and *Proceedings* are intended to provide material for students of American history, to develop by printing the manuscript material in the Society's cabinet and to place on record the contributions made to the meetings of the Society — a measure of its aims and performance. In spite of this lack of appeal to the public, however, the annual returns from the sales of publications other than the *Journals* have averaged \$1100. in the last four years. This sum more than equals the annual and initiation dues which were so wisely surrendered in 1907 — an act which placed the Society on a unique basis, as yet not imitated by any like society. The time must come, however, when the returns from the sales of publications must decrease, unless a different method of publication is adopted or a wider market for the volumes be found. At the present time it is not possible to supply a full set of either *Collections* or *Proceedings*, and each year tends to diminish the volumes now available but for the most part held in small numbers. The demand arises from libraries which have come into possession of a part of a series and desire to complete it, and that form of demand is not unlimited. Having this in mind the volume of the letters of Col. Theodore Lyman (*Meade's Headquarters*) was issued not as a volume of *Collections*, for the Society does not possess the letters themselves, but as an independent venture,

published through the Atlantic Monthly Press Company. The result shows that the return is much larger than could be had by publishing it as a volume of *Collections*, and a much wider circle of readers is obtained. It may be recalled that the experiment was not wholly new as Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation* was published in the same manner. In this direction some development is possible, and the Society will be able to undertake or to encourage the publication of good, original material not in its cabinet, at a comparatively small sacrifice.

The photostat has become a recognized part of the Society, and both in subjects reproduced and in quality of product has a wide recognition. In the past year four more years of the *Boston News-Letter*, 1751-1754, have been distributed, completing the reproduction from the first number of the newspaper in 1704 to the end of 1754. A file of that description, placed in twenty-two libraries widely scattered throughout the United States, has brought a veritable treasure house of provincial history to the student and the good results are already reflected in the publications of studies in the period covered. A second instalment of North Carolina newspapers of a date prior to 1800, collected by the North Carolina Historical Commission, has also been sent out to seven subscribing libraries. Believing it good policy to aid the reproduction of good historical material, the Society granted leave to its photostat operator, Mr. Pearman, to be in Albany for about eight weeks, where he made some forty-six hundred negatives of New York manuscript material, which were given by Mr. James B. Wilbur to the Library of Congress. Mr. Wilbur's plan to accumulate in Washington reproductions of like material is worthy of all recognition, and carried out on a large scale will prove a boon to the investigator. The usual aid to local students and libraries for photostat work has been afforded and the output was as varied as it was large. The total number of prints made in the year was 22,248, thus making the total since April, 1915, 176,000. It is a moderate statement to say that the Society has gained largely in reputation and in collections by the operations of this instrument.

In the early Americana Series twenty-four volumes have been issued since April, 1922, bringing the total number to eighty-six. Among the twenty-four may be mentioned: two poems of Giuliano Dati, one issued at Florence in 1493, recognizing Columbus, and the other *Il secondo Cantare*, issued at Rome in 1494, obtained for a possible mention of the new-found continent, in either case but a single copy of the original being known. The sixteenth century gave the following titles for reproduction: Vespuccius, *Van der nieuwer werelt*, Antwerp, 1508; the *Lettera di Sybilia*, 1538, from an unique example; Ferrer, *Sentencias Catholicas del divi Poeta Dant*, Barcelona, 1546, containing matter on the partition of the eastern ocean by the Pope and a letter to Columbus, from an unique copy; two volumes by Thomas Churchyard, a miscellaneous writer little known in America, one *A Prayse and Reporte of Maister Martyne Froboishers Voyage to Meta Incognita*, 1578, and the second *A Discourse of the Queenes Maesties entertainment in Suffolk*, 1578, which also has poems on the voyages to America of Frobisher and Sir Humphrey Gilbert; Drake's voyage of 1585 as told in legends intended for a series of five maps by Batista, no example of the five legends in place being known, the most complete series having only four and existing in a single known copy; and Eden's translation of Taisnier, *Booke concerning Navigation*, 1579. It will not be necessary to list the items of the seventeenth century, for they would merely confirm the interest of the series to investigators of early American history and the gain in having the reproductions in the ten large libraries in the land. The originals were found in the British Museum, Bibliothèque Nationale, two Italian libraries, Henry E. Huntington, John Carter Brown and Clements libraries, and in the historical societies of New York and Rhode Island. Of the eighty-six pieces in the series as far as issued, forty-two were drawn from foreign libraries.

It is pleasant to look back a few years and recall the rich gifts by members and others both in money and in material. The example set by Mr. Kellen, when a member of the Council, by his gift of photostats of all manuscripts in the

State Archives prior to 1700, was followed by Mr. Charles G. Washburn in the Mauduit papers and volume: by the late Senator Wetmore of Rhode Island in the fine collection of manuscripts on Rhode Island commerce and the two printed volumes drawn from it; and by Dr. Nichols in the Livingston-Ridley manuscripts, supplemented by the important gift from the Misses Sara and Elizabeth Gaskell Norton, all adding papers of great historical value in themselves, but of greater value when brought into relation with other like material already in the cabinet of the Society. With characteristic foresight Mr Dowse provided for the printing of the House Journals of the provincial period, thus enabling the Society to do what was more properly the business of the Commonwealth, and the Commonwealth has agreed to assist in the publication and distribution. The Robert Winthrop Fund also assures an undertaking which is notable in itself and assumes a greater importance in its relations to the approaching tercentenary of the settlement of Massachusetts Bay. The gift of the *Education of Henry Adams* and of the *Autobiography of Charles Francis Adams* to the Society by the authors has resulted in a fund, known as the Adams Fund, which already is exceeded in amount only by the John L. Sibley Fund. Other funds provide for the regular issues of *Proceedings* and *Collections*, in continuation of series that have established the position of the Society and supply a standard to be maintained.

In the face of such resources and performance it would seem ungracious to ask for more. Yet even the publications of the Society could be enlarged judiciously were the needed funds in hand, and the pressing need of an extension to the present building overshadows all other calls. The existing space for shelves is exhausted, the shelves themselves are filled to the utmost limit and in the upper room no more books can be stored with safety to the structure. With public functions to perform no aid has come from the public, directly or indirectly, and on private contributions expansion in the future depends. Recognized as the oldest in this country and in some respects a model society of its kind, it has fallen behind in the race for collections of portraits, his-

torical prints or paintings, and printed books. This is not so serious a matter, for the city and neighboring region abound in public and private collections of a special nature, and at Harvard a true scholars' library is rapidly becoming unequalled in its reference as well as its special departments. But the Society should have adequate space to house safely what it possesses and to develop its own special field of collecting. That is asking what is proper and essential to further growth in a usefulness which is better appreciated each year. We ask that the members bear in mind this need and utilize every opportunity to state the past performance, the present needs and the future enlarged possibilities of the Society.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

In compliance with the requirements of the By-laws, Chapter VII, article 2, the Treasurer respectfully submits his Annual Report made up to April 1st, 1923.

The Special funds now held by the Treasurer are thirty-five in number, this being the same number reported last year. A list of these funds, with the income and expenditure of each, appears in Exhibit V in this report. There was added to the principal of the Adams Fund \$1,931.88 from the sale of Publications. A list of the securities now on hand follows and shows

Bonds, par value	\$471,000.00
Stocks, " "	183,200.00
Savings Bank Books	1,858.43

represented by Investment Account, \$603,492.62.

With the approval of members of the Finance Committee, several changes in the investments, deemed advisable on account of the trend of business, were made during the year.

It is interesting to note that transactions going through the books of the Treasurer have increased nearly 25% in number since 1920, showing that the business activities of the Society are broadening, as are those of a less mercenary and more sentimental nature.

The Building Fund has been increased during the past year by gifts from Miss Frances R. Morse (\$25), Grenville H. Norcross (\$1,000), Mrs. Emily E. F. Skeel (\$50), and Estate of Mary Perkins Quincy (\$4,062.41), and now amounts to \$24,191.99.

The close of the fiscal year finds the financial affairs of the Society in a very satisfactory and encouraging condition, as inspection of the appended statement will show.

ALLAN FORBES, *Treasurer.*

INVESTMENTS

SCHEDULE OF BONDS

American Agricultural Chemical Co.	7½%	1941	\$10,000.00
American Sugar Refining Co.	6%	1937	15,000.00
American Tel. & Tel. Co.	4%	1929	10,000.00
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R. Adjust.	4%	1995	9,000.00
Baltimore & Ohio R. R.	4%	1959	3,000.00
Bangor & Aroostook R. R.	4%	1959	10,000.00
Belgium, Kingdom of	7½%	1945	10,000.00
Blackstone Valley Gas & Electric	5%	1939	10,000.00
Boston & Albany R. R.	5%	1938	10,000.00
Boston & Maine R. R. Registered	4½%	1944	6,000.00
Boston Elevated Railway	5%	1942	8,000.00
British Columbia, Province of	5%	1924	2,000.00
Central Maine Power Co.	7%	1941	10,000.00
Chicago Jct. Union Stock Yards	5%	1940	10,000.00
Cleveland Short Line	4½%	1961	10,000.00
Connecticut Light & Power Co.	5%	1963	10,000.00
Connecticut Light & Power Co.	7%	1951	9,000.00
Consolidated Gas, Electric Lt. & Power Co.	6%	1949	10,000.00
Dedham Water Co.	5%	1935	5,000.00
Denmark, Kingdom of	6%	1942	10,000.00
Detroit Edison Co.	5%	1933	10,000.00
Duquesne Light Co.	6%	1949	10,000.00
Fitchburg R. R.	4%	1927	9,000.00
Home Tel. & Tel. Co.	5%	1936	20,000.00
Hartford Electric Co.	7%	1930	3,000.00
Kansas City, Clinton & Springfield R. R.	5%	1925	3,000.00
Long Island R. R.	4%	1949	6,000.00
Lowell, Lawrence & Haverhill St. R. R.	5%	1923	2,000.00
Massachusetts Lighting Co.	7%	1930	10,000.00
New England Tel. & Tel. Co.	5%	1932	10,000.00
New York Central & Hudson River R. R.	4%	1934	15,000.00
Old Colony Gas Co.	5%	1931	5,000.00
Carry forward			\$280,000.00

Brought forward			\$280,000.00
Oregon Short Line	5%	1946	10,000.00
Pacific Tel. & Tel. Co.	5%	1937	10,000.00
Père Marquette R. R.	5%	1956	15,000.00
Père Marquette R. R.	4%	1956	2,000.00
Plymouth Electric Light Co.	5%	1925	2,000.00
Railway & Light Sec. Co.	5%	1946	5,000.00
Rio Grande Western R. R.	4%	1939	5,000.00
Seattle Electric Co.	5%	1929	5,000.00
Shawinigan Water & Power Co.	6%	1950	12,000.00
Southern California Edison Co.	6%	1944	10,000.00
South Western Bell Tel. Co.	7%	1925	10,000.00
Toronto Harbor Commissioners	4½%	1953	10,000.00
United Electric Light & Power Co.	4½%	1929	10,000.00
United Electric Securities Co.	5%	1936 '39, '40, '42	25,000.00
U. S. Steel Corporation	5%	1963	10,000.00
Washington Water Power Co.	5%	1939	10,000.00
Western Tel. & Tel. Co.	5%	1932	10,000.00
Western Union Tel. Co.	5%	1938	10,000.00
Wilmington City Elec. Co.	5%	1951	5,000.00
City of Winnipeg	6%	1946	15,000.00
	Par value		<u>\$471,000.00</u>

SCHEDULE OF STOCKS

Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé. Pfd.	158 shares	\$15,800.00
Boston & Albany R. R.	35 "	3,500.00
Boston & Maine R. R. Class A.	25 "	2,500.00
Chicago Jct. Rys. & Union Stock Yds. Pfd.	150 "	15,000.00
American Glue Co.	25 "	2,500.00
American Smelting. Pfd.	75 "	7,500.00
American Sugar Refining Co. Pfd.	50 "	5,000.00
American Tel. & Tel. Co.	60 "	6,000.00
Boston Real Estate Trust	6 "	6,000.00
State Street Exchange	5 "	500.00
Kansas City Stock Yards. Pfd.	302 "	30,200.00
Pacific Mills	400 "	40,000.00
United Fruit Co.	100 "	10,000.00
Merchants National Bank	85 "	8,500.00
National Shawmut Bank	50 "	5,000.00
Second National Bank	50 "	5,000.00
Cincinnati Gas & Electric Co.	10 "	1,000.00
Consol'd Gas, Elec. Lt. & Power Co. of Baltimore. Pfd.	50 "	5,000.00
Puget Sound Light & Power Co. Pfd.	52 "	5,200.00
Puget Sound Light & Power Co. Common	5 "	500.00
Puget Sound Light & Power Co. Prior. Pfd.	10 "	1,000.00
Electric Bond & Share Co. Pref.	50 "	5,000.00
Old Colony R. R.	25 "	2,500.00
Par value	1778 "	<u>\$183,200.00</u>

SCHEDULE OF SAVINGS BANK BOOKS

M. A. Parker	\$1,634.30
Brattle St. Church Model Fund	224.13
	\$1,858.43

RECAPITULATION

Bonds, par value	\$471,000.00
Stocks, par value	183,200.00
Savings Bank Books	1,858.43
	\$656,058.43

BALANCE SHEET, March 31, 1922

Cash	\$2,358.47	Funds, Exhibit II	\$539,494.29
Investment Account	603,492.62	Unexpended Balance of Funds	66,356.80
	\$605,851.09		\$605,851.09

BUILDING FUND

Received from Subscriptions	\$21,925.91
Interest on Bonds	\$1,855.16
Less accrued on Bonds bought	77.30
	\$1,777.86
Interest on Bank Balances	488.22
	\$24,191.99
Less Securities bought	
\$10,000 Province of British Columbia, 6%	\$9,981.00
6,000 Edison Elec. Ill'g Co.	5,962.50
6,000 American Tel. & Tel. Co.	6,052.50
Balance, Cash in Bank, March 31, 1923	<u>\$2,195.99</u>

EXHIBIT I

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

<i>Balance Account, April 1, 1922</i>		\$601,852.00	
Securities, etc., added:			
20,000 Home Tel.	\$19,025.00		
10,000 Consolidated Gas, Baltimore	9,993.75		
2,000 Province British Columbia	1,991.75		
10,000 South Western Bell Telephone	10,275.00		
10 Shares American Tel. & Tel. Co.	1,000.00		
50 Shares Electric Bond & Share Co.	4,950.00		
Brattle St. Church Fund Savings Bank	9.75		
M. A. Parker Fund Savings Bank	71.12	47,316.37	
			\$649,168.37
Less Securities matured or sold:			
10,000 Northern Pacific & Great Northern	\$10,547.50		
10,000 Oregon Short Line	9,010.00		
14,500 Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé	12,883.25		
1,000 Conn. Light & Power Co. Called	1,100.00		
2,000 Hartford Electric Light Co. Called	2,050.00		
10,000 General Electric Co.	10,085.00	45,675.75	
<i>Balance, March 31, 1923</i>			<u>\$603,492.62</u>

EXHIBIT II

INCREASE OF FUNDS IN YEARS 1922-1923

Total of Funds, April 1, 1922		\$532,917.73	
<i>Added during year:</i>			
Centenary Funds:			
Anonymous Fund	\$369.81		
J. L. Sibley Fund	4,274.87		
Adams Fund	1,931.88	6,576.56	
Total of Funds, March 31, 1923			<u>\$539,494.29</u>

EXHIBIT III

ACCUMULATED INCOME OF FUNDS

Balance Accumulated Income, April 1, 1922		\$69,619.75	
Income during year		46,929.30	
			\$116,549.05
Added to Principal Centenary Funds	\$4,644.68		
Expenditures during year	45,547.57	50,192.25	
<i>Balance, March 31, 1923</i>			<u>\$66,356.80</u>

EXHIBIT IV

CASH ACCOUNT

<i>Balance on hand, April 1, 1922</i>			\$685.48
<i>Receipts during year:</i>			
Publications	\$1,910.67		
Photostat	5,707.97		
Gift of Mr. W. B. H. Dowse	1,200.00		
Rebates	12.49		
Credited to General Fund Income	\$8,831.13		
Income from Investments	36,943.72		
Interest on Bank Balances	156.00		
" " Savings Bank Books	80.87		
Bank Tax returned by Mass.	917.58		
<i>Total Income</i>	\$46,929.30		
Credited to Income of Various Funds	\$42,284.62		
" " Principal Centenary Funds	4,644.68		
Royalties added to Adams Fund	1,931.88		
Investment Account:			
Securities sold or matured	45,675.75		
			\$94,536.93
<i>Charges during year to March 31, 1923:</i>			
Investment Account:			
Securities bought	\$47,235.50		
Additions to Savings Bank Books	80.87	47,316.37	
			\$47,220.56
			47,220.56
<i>Income Account:</i>			
Bindery	\$1,626.97		
Binding	122.05		
Books, Pamphlets, Newspapers, etc.	3,044.23		
Building:			
Cleaning	\$635.88		
Engineer	1,239.50		
Fuel	476.80		
Furniture	1,218.71		
Light	398.03		
Repairs	1,099.62		
Telephone	154.26		
Water	72.38		
Supplies	59.95		
Insurance	58.37		
Survey	100.00	5,513.50	
Carry forward	\$10,306.75	\$47,906.04	

Brought over	\$10,306.75	\$47,906.04
Exhibition	266.50	
Photostat:		
Salary	1,800.00	
Paper	2,541.33	
Developing	302.33	
Binding	597.64	5,241.30
Portraits and Medals		1,041.84
Postage		261.70
Printing:		
Proceedings, vol. 54	\$1,199.56	
" " 55	1,797.86	
Illustrations	568.78	
Reprints	390.00	
Broadside	3,013.19	
Meade Headquarters	4,066.88	
House Journal	1,640.02	
Miscellaneous	166.50	12,842.79
Salaries:		
Librarian and Assistants	6,000.00	
Editor and Assistant	7,560.00	13,560.00
Stationery		248.21
Treasurer's office:		
Bond	\$25.00	
Bookkeeper	1,000.00	
Safe Deposit Vaults	60.00	
Certified Public Accountant	100.00	1,185.00
Miscellaneous		593.48
	<u>\$45,547.57</u>	<u>\$45,547.57</u>
Balance on hand, March 31, 1923		<u>\$2,358.47</u>

EXHIBIT V

	Balance Mar. 31, '22	Income	Expendi- ture	Balance Mar. 31, '23	Principal of Funds
Adams	\$3,110.38	\$2,380.89	\$2,250.00	\$3,241.27	\$33,245.64
Amory	2,112.62	228.10	185.00	2,155.72	3,000.00
Appleton	3,977.70	927.83	4,808.87	96.66	12,203.00
Bigelow	633.00	152.06	180.70	604.36	2,000.00
Billings	4,366.26	760.33	4,003.99	1,122.60	10,000.00
Boit	355.09	380.17		735.26	5,000.00
Brattle St.	114.38	9.75		124.13	100.00
Chamberlain	229.22	93.67	72.38	250.51	1,232.33
Dowse	87.87	760.33	800.00	48.20	10,000.00
Ellis	128.08	2,407.84	2,283.15	252.77	31,666.66
Frothingham	3,396.63	228.10		3,624.73	3,000.00
General	4,145.13	13,142.87	15,778.53	1,509.47	56,709.16
Hunnewell	3,692.06	380.17		4,072.23	5,000.00
Lawrence	1,491.19	228.10		1,719.29	3,000.00
Lowell	1,086.30	228.10		1,314.40	3,000.00
Mass. Hist. Trust	5,514.91	760.33	1,043.04	5,232.20	10,000.00
Parker	69.20	71.12	82.27	58.05	1,000.00
Peabody	6,793.14	1,682.07	1,199.56	7,275.65	22,123.00
Salisbury	233.25	380.17	387.71	225.71	5,000.00
Savage	1,431.25	456.20	555.69	1,331.76	6,000.00
Schouler	202.40	216.69		419.09	2,850.00
C. A. L. Sibley	568.25	1,711.42	1,352.39	927.28	22,509.48
J. L. Sibley	3,835.94	9,205.68	5,004.00	8,037.62	121,077.00
Slafter	397.12	76.03	83.00	390.15	1,000.00
Chas. Card Smith	1,031.57	1,140.49	1,000.00	1,172.06	15,000.00
Waterston No. 1	1,642.95	380.17	140.00	1,883.12	5,000.00
Waterston No. 2	4,519.05	760.33	61.40	5,217.98	10,000.00
Waterston No. 3	5,741.69	760.33	1,736.46	4,765.56	10,000.00
Waterston Library	789.72	294.63	1,015.95	68.40	3,875.14
R. C. Winthrop	4,150.00	760.33	1,125.00	3,785.33	10,000.00
T. L. Winthrop	633.05	179.82		812.87	2,364.66
Wm. Winthrop	1,740.07	380.17	398.48	1,721.76	5,000.00
Robert Winthrop	1,400.28	760.33		2,160.61	10,000.00
Total	\$69,619.75	\$42,284.12	\$45,547.57	\$66,356.80	\$441,956.07
Sibley Centenary		\$4,274.87			\$89,772.17
Anonymous Centenary		369.81			7,766.05
Total Income		\$46,929.30			
Total Funds					\$539,494.29

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

The Library has received during the past year:

Books	990	
Pamphlets	1,222	
Manuscripts, bound ..	74	
Broad­sides	159	2,445.

These additions, the most important of which have been described at the monthly meetings, have found their way to such places in the Library as could be made for them under the existing crowded conditions. The difficulties of continuing any convenient classification are troublesome, when shelves and divisions are full.

The general work of the Library has continued with good results. The devoted service of the library staff, who have all details in charge, is warmly appreciated. The courteous attention given visitors and searchers, as well as to members, has been of mutual advantage and of importance to the Society.

Purchases of books and manuscripts have been made in such numbers as the limited income of the book funds at the disposal of the Librarian would allow. Only a few of the additions received as gifts have come from members; and it is suggested that more members should do what they can to add gifts of such historical and biographical works as ought to be on our shelves. Assistance too is needed to bring in manuscripts, which may be in places where they are subject to loss or injury, and also any rarer or more important material which the Society could use. The publications of members are also wanted for our shelves. Grateful appreciation is expressed to our associates who have already made possible valuable additions to the Society's treasures.

The task of completing several groups of works has been continued. Special effort has been made to obtain English parish and county records and histories, such works being needed to furnish a better view of our early history in its English relationships, customs, and origins. The enlarge-

ment of the group of serial historical publications has been kept closely in view.

The Society's chief attraction to students and investigators is its large and valuable manuscript collection. To make it more accessible the catalogue is being pushed as rapidly as possible. The most distinguished addition to this collection during the past year is the series of forty-five bound volumes of the Warren Papers, given by Dr. J. Collins Warren, containing manuscripts on the beginnings of medical history in this country for a century and a half, his three immediate ancestors and himself being among the leaders in its progress. The Caleb Davis and the Shattuck Papers reported last year have received large additions from Dr. Frederick Cheever Shattuck and his brother, the late Dr. George Brune Shattuck, and are equally important in their portrayal of Boston and Massachusetts history. Dr. Charles E. Banks gave his valuable manuscripts on Arnold's Expedition to Quebec in 1775. Another important collection is the Col. Winthrop Sargent Papers relating to the Marietta settlement in Ohio and the Mississippi Territory, given by Mr. Paul Dana, of New York, through Prof. Charles S. Sargent. A valuable letter written by George Washington, May 16, 1775, was given by Col. Henry Hersey Andrew, of New York.

The bindery has proved itself to be a most important feature of the library service. It has lost for a time the skilful help of Miss Sally F. Shaw in charge of the department. She asked to be relieved of her position, and left her desk on May 3, to begin a year's study in a school of art in Paris, hoping to return later to her accustomed place here. The Society is fortunate to obtain meantime the services of Miss Marjorie M. Bruce, from the same school in which Miss Shaw was trained.

The division of engravings and maps has been much improved by discarding the old wooden cabinets and installing in their places two steel cases, of the same style as the catalogue cases, having large and shallow drawers well suited for their purpose. These make it possible to present a better and more attractive arrangement of pieces.

The Librarian desires to express his gratitude for the

sympathetic interest and generous support given by members which have brightened his outlook and given encouragement to more efficient labors for the Society's welfare.

JULIUS H. TUTTLE, *Librarian*.

REPORT OF THE CABINET-KEEPER.

The accessions to the Cabinet have been reported fully each month and printed in the *Proceedings*; and it seems unnecessary to repeat the list here.

Soon after the last Annual Meeting an exhibition of books, manuscripts, medals, and articles of interest belonging to the Society was opened in Ellis Hall under the direction of the House Committee. The formal exhibition remained open for a month or more and was well attended. With some changes from time to time the exhibition has been informally continued.

Dr. Storer, now abroad, reports that there has been a considerable increase in his department of Coins and Medals, and an especially large addition, by purchase, to the collection of Massachusetts bank-bills.

GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS,
Cabinet-Keeper.

Mr. MERRIMAN, for the Committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year, made a report, upon which a ballot was taken.

The officers are as follows:

President.

HENRY CABOT LODGE.

Vice-Presidents.

ARTHUR LORD.

CHARLES HOMER HASKINS.

Recording Secretary.

EDWARD STANWOOD.

Corresponding Secretary.

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER.

Treasurer.

ALLAN FORBES.

Librarian.

JULIUS HERBERT TUTTLE.

Cabinet-Keeper.

GRENVILLE HOWLAND NORCROSS.

Editor.

WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD.

Members-at-Large of the Council.

JOHN WOODFORD FARLOW.

PAUL REVERE FROTHINGHAM.

FRANCIS RUSSELL HART.

ROBERT GRANT.

CHESTER NOYES GREENOUGH.

Mr. MAYO read a paper on "Stephen Cabot's Sea Journal, 1813," which will appear elsewhere.

Mr. FORD called attention to some of the books in the Society's collection that are printed in small editions, ranging from those printed "as proof," in an edition of two to six copies to such as were issued in one hundred copies.

JAMES WRIGHT TO FRANCIS MARKOE, JR.

PHIL'A., April 7, 1841.

MY DEAR FRANK,—What a sad *melancholy* day is this. Never within my recollection has the Country sustained such a sore Calamity as in the death of the venerable and noble Harrison. What the results which are to follow this event none can tell. I hope for the best, but fear much from the little which can be known of his Successor. The expectations will be blasted of a

long line of expectants, as the chain of influence up to the appointing power is now broken. Our City is to-day shrouded in mourning, stores all closed and shutters of almost every private dwelling in the City are bowed, many buildings exhibiting demonstrations of mourning in crape and black trimmings. I feel gratified to see the expression of sorrow so universal, and almost every countenance wears a sad aspect. A very large meeting has been held to-day at the State house yard attended by thousands, to pass appropriate resolutions and fix upon a day for a funeral procession. You have to-day paid the last sad rites to the President, and I have no doubt his body has been followed by many hundreds of sincere and heartfelt mourners. For myself, I feel as if I had suffered a personal affliction. No public event has ever impressed my feelings with the mournful solemnity that this has; none have I ever felt as I do this afflictive dispensation of Providence. But I feel that it is a national chastisement for national sins, and I hope it will be so regarded and while God's judgements are laid upon us the people learn righteousness. I desire for one to lay it to heart and feel humbled under the blow, while I pray that our beloved Country may be delivered from evils that *may* grow out of the present peculiar circumstances under which we are placed. I fear the effects of conflicting interests among the friends of the present administration, and that it may lead to factions and dissensions; and, if nothing worse, to the loss of the Administration by passing it into the hands of the Locofocos. But we will hope for brighter things and now look as we should to God instead of to an arm of flesh where we have already trusted too much for deliverance from our troubles. . . . Your afft. Brother,

JAMES WRIGHT.

Since writing the above I have seen the *National Intelligencer* of this morning, from which I learn that Mr. Tyler has requested the heads of the various Departments to retain their places. If they can do so with perfect unanimity and good feeling, it will dissipate some of my present distrustful forebodings.

MAY MEETING

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 10th instant, at three o'clock, P.M., the first Vice-President, Mr. LORD, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From Mrs. Samuel Parkman Blake, papers of Samuel Parkman Blake, and Samuel Parkman Blake, Jr., 1815-1855.

From Charles H. Taylor, a ms. sermon of Rev. Samuel Checkley, Boston, May 9, 1731.

From Mrs. Minnie Cruff, of West Roxbury, through Henry B. Stevens, a volume of the *Evening Gazette*, Boston, 1815-1816.

From Mrs. Kingsmill Marrs, additions to the Kingsmill Marrs Collection.

From Mrs. Ellery Sedgwick, by deposit, several trunks of papers of the Mason, Rogers and Bromfield families which belonged to her mother, Mrs. Walter C. Cabot.

By purchase, papers of Miss Elizabeth Howe, Cambridge, 1775-1822; of Caleb Moody, of Newbury, Mass., 1693-1810; and Court rolls of Castelyns Hall, Groton, England, 1582-1626, with references to the names of Clopton, Gostlin, and Winthrop, with two relating to Groton Manor, 1616 and 1646.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following accessions:

From the late Pelham Winslow Warren, of New York, by bequest, a portrait of Mrs. Mary Otis Gray, wife of John Gray, and sister of James Otis, the patriot, of Samuel Alleyne Otis (father of Harrison Gray Otis), and of Mercy Otis who married Gen. James Warren, of Plymouth, painted by Copley in 1757.

From Dr. J. Collins Warren, a photograph of Henry H. Richardson.

From the heirs of Mr. and Mrs. John Tisdale Bradlee (1837-1898), of Boston, a lithograph of Rev. Daniel Sharp; an engraving of the United States Senate Chamber in 1846, by Thomas Doney, with a key to the same; photographs of Theodore Parker's library, of the Boston City Hospital about 1863; and a statuette of Daniel Webster.

From Grenville H. Norcross, a photograph of the Château de Chavaignac, Lafayette's birthplace.

By purchase and exchange, a collection of ninety bills of Massachusetts National Banks from 1865-1878: the Evacuation of Boston Medal, 1776,¹ struck in Berlin iron, the only specimen known to Dr. Storer; a ruble struck in commemoration of the three hundredth anniversary of the foundation of Russia, with busts of Michail I and Nicolas, purchased from a refugee princess in Constantinople; a snuff-box, with lid formed by a medal commemorating the taking of Porto Bello in 1739 by Admiral Vernon; and a medal of Jackson by Bolen, the only copy known to have been struck in gold.

From William Keeney Bixby, of St. Louis, a Corresponding Member, two bank bills, 1853, of Adrian, Michigan, his native town.

The Vice-President reported for the Corresponding Secretary, in his absence, the receipt of a letter from Rev. Henry Sweetser Burrage, of Kennebunkport, Maine, accepting his election as a Corresponding Member of the Society.

M. Henri Pirenne, of Ghent, Belgium, was elected an Honorary Member of the Society.

Announcement was made of the following Standing Committees:

House Committee: JOHN W. FARLOW, FREDERIC WINTHROP, and WILLIAM C. ENDICOTT.

Finance Committee: FRANCIS R. HART, GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS, and ARTHUR LORD.

Library Committee: EDWARD STANWOOD, CHARLES PELHAM GREENOUGH, and CHARLES K. BOLTON.

Committee to publish the *Proceedings*: HENRY CABOT LODGE, ARTHUR LORD, and EDWARD STANWOOD.

It was voted that the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund for the last financial year be retained in the Treasury, to be expended in such objects as may seem desirable to the Council of the Society.

Captain FROTHINGHAM, in presenting to the Society photographic prints of General McClellan and of his signature, stated that they were made from a small card photograph, signed by General McClellan and given by him to

¹ Storer, No. 353. This reference is to *Collections*, LVI, now in press.

Dr. Jonathan Mason Warren. This photograph was taken at Dr. Warren's house, 2 Park St., Boston, February 1, 1863, by Black, on the occasion of General McClellan's visit at the house of Dr. Warren. The original signed photograph and an account of the circumstances under which it was taken will be found in the Warren papers.

Mr. NATHAN MATTHEWS spoke on the historical value of the Early Court Files of Boston and Suffolk County, and the opportunities which would be opened by publication.

Mr. MURDOCK exhibited a portrait of Major John Pitcairn and commented upon his career.

FRANKLIN'S GERMAN NEWSPAPER, 1751-52.

Mr. FORD stated that Mr. Clarence S. Brigham, librarian of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, had found in the Massachusetts Historical Society an example of a colonial newspaper published by Benjamin Franklin but known only by mention, no copy having been located in any American library. The discovery of this actual proof of a long lost item in Frankliniana was so interesting that Mr. Brigham has prepared the following minute for the *Proceedings*:

My recent discovery of Benjamin Franklin's German and English newspaper of 1752, in the Massachusetts Historical Society, has settled a rather interesting bibliographical problem. It has long been known that such a paper existed, but its exact title was unknown, nor could a copy be located.

In *The Pennsylvania Gazette* of September 12, 1751, was found the following advertisement:

At the German Printing-Office, in Arch-street, is now printed every Fortnight a Dutch and English Gazette, containing the freshest Advices foreign and domestick, with other entertaining and useful Matters in both Languages, adapted to the Convenience of such as incline to learn either. Subscribers to pay Five Shillings per Annum. At the same Place Advertisements, to be printed in Dutch and English, or in Dutch only, are taken in, and translated (if necessary) into either Language, and done singly as well as in the Gazette, at reasonable Rates. Also Copper-plate Printing perform'd in the best Manner.

This advertisement was continued in subsequent issues until December 17, 1751, and the issue of January 14, 1752, announced that, "Advertisements for the German and English Gazette, printed at Lancaster by Miller and Holland, are taken in at the Post-Office." Since the Lancaster paper was known to have been started in January 1752, it was assumed that the Philadelphia bilingual paper was discontinued at this time.

Isaiah Thomas, in his *History of Printing*, supposed that the paper was printed by Godhart Armbruster, and he was followed by Hildeburn, in his *Issues of the Pennsylvania Press*. Seidensticker, in his *First Century of German Printing in America*,¹ thought that the English text was very likely a reprint of that in Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette*, and correctly assumed that the paper was printed by Franklin, since the German almanac of that year printed at Philadelphia bore Franklin's imprint. Other writers on the subject followed one of these three authorities, or omitted all reference to the newspaper.²

The issue in the Massachusetts Historical Society is that for January 25, 1752, numbered 13, and is entitled *Die Hoch Teutsche und Englische Zeitung. The High-Dutch and English Gazette*. The imprint was that of Benjamin Franklin. The foreign news was in alternate columns of German and English, and was taken from the issues of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of January 14 and 21, 1752. The space generally given to local news was filled by a long address to the editor, in German and unsigned. The advertisements were in German and English, and were mostly intended for this paper alone. The last advertisement states: "This English and Dutch Paper, No. 13, ending the half Year, will be no longer printed in Philadelphia, one of the same kind being now done in Lancaster, by good Hands, which our Customers may have delivered here without Charge of Postage."

The anonymous letter to the editor consists of an attack upon some of the views of Christopher Sauer, one of the leading Germans in Pennsylvania, and publisher of the

¹ Thomas (1874 ed.), II, 144; Hildeburn, I, 261; Seidensticker, 38.

² Evans, 6803, gives the title *Die Zeitung*, No. 1, September, 1751.

Pennsylvanische Berichte printed at Germantown. As a good example of the wide latitude allowed in personal abuse in the newspapers of the period it is worthy of preservation. The translation was kindly made for me by Professor James O. Knauss of Florida State College at Tallahassee, a recognized authority on the history of the early Germans of Pennsylvania.

Mr. FRANKLIN, please publish the following lines in your paper. You will thus do a favor to your unknown friend.

Mr. SAUER, I notice that two well-meaning Germans, in No. 11 of the *Philadelphische Teutsche Zeitung* and supplement, as a New Year's greeting, have slightly washed your head. But I also notice that the lies which they used were by no means strong enough to penetrate so as to cure and revivify your old diseased brain, for in your last rag collection of the *Kirchen-Reich*,¹ January 16, No. 140, I see that quite according to your odd custom you do not answer a word about the subject which they broached, except that you again accuse and attempt to turn back the reproaches and carefully made arguments. This, however, is the manner of all rascals and women when they are called up to clear themselves of an accusation, not the method of a sensible man. It leads me to believe that the nuts have been too hard for you to crack, just as the pears were too sour for the fox in the fable, because they hung too high.

You sharply say in the number mentioned above that a short time ago there appeared in the *Philadelphische Zeitung* an article which shows how one shall flatter, caress and at the same time threaten those in authority and the judges. But, Mr. Sauer, what would happen if you would be asked to prove your statement? If you were, as you pretend you are, a man who loves friends and truth and is also nonpartisan you would not again have printed such apparent lies and new accusations in your good for nothing paper (for your opponents do not need any other statement than what the proposition to you concerning the subject necessarily demands). One reads exactly the opposite in the writings of your opponents. They simply show to Mr. Sauer and distinctly prove by his own scribbling not only that he is not chosen as judge but also that he is not the man who is able to give an accurate de-

¹ Refers to Sauer's paper, *Pennsylvanische Berichte; Oder: Sammlung Wichtiger Nachrichten aus dem Natur- und Kirchen-Reich*. Sauer printed a newspaper at Germantown from 1739 to his death in 1758 under different titles. *Am. Antiq. Soc. Proceedings*, xxx, 107.

cision, as he has by far not enough sense and capacity for it. That is the simple truth, against which you can say nothing except that it has angered you so much in your arrogance and highly conceited wisdom that you have blown from you the affected lying wind mentioned above, and thereby according to your custom intend to turn the argument from you and upon your opponents, as other rascals also do.

You may indeed talk of threats, caresses and flatteries. Who has learned this art better, and for many years has displayed it more, than you by spoken and written word? How soon you can turn your mantle to the wind either because it is to your interest or because of blind affection for others! Your paper jewel box, Kirchen-Reich, calendar¹ and your other mean publications can prove this. You have often been controverted, and your unreasonableness and folly exposed. Then you say that you do not want to quarrel, that quarrelling is satanic, and nobody quarrels more than you yourself. In short you may quite rightly be called the most Christian brawler and disputer here in this land.

You say further that your opponents teach in the same newspaper how one should repudiate Christ's teachings and the first Christian gatherings and practices; likewise how one should censure a person in a libellous manner like students and not permit the truth. Mr. Sauer, just so soon as you speak of truth, you are caught in the way of lies. Where is such a statement to be found and shown in the writings of your opponents? But that they push the truth under your nose, which smarts your eyes like onions, this is something quite different and this you call the way of libellous students. But that is exactly your own way, for your father himself was a student. From him you probably learned the art of turning truth into lies on one hand, and imagination and rhapsody into truth on the other.

What do you know of the gatherings of the first Christians, what kind of people they were and what practices they had? Others know the history thereof as well if not better than you. So far as the last point is concerned, the consecration and righteousness of the majority at that time, just as at the present time, was poor enough. But that they had at that time no so-called

¹ This refers to a collection of cards, enclosed in a case, designed to combine play and spiritual comfort. It was the work of Gerhard Tersteegen and was entitled: *Der Frommen Lotterie, oder Geistliches Schatzkästlein*, printed by Sauer in 1751. Evans, 6791. The Kirchen-Reich was Sauer's newspaper and the calendar was *Der Hoch-Deutsch Americanische Kalender*, printed by Sauer in 1751, and in competition with Franklin's issue, *Neueingerrichteter Americanischer Geschichts-Calender*, also published in 1751.

churches or meeting houses, in which they could come together, but assembled secretly in private houses, this is no wonder and and no particular virtue is to be gotten from it, for they were surrounded by enemies, by Jews and heathen, and dared not build such public houses and hold meetings. They were compelled by need; you, however, make a Christian necessity and virtue out of it. It seems, however, that Mr. Sauer is not satisfied with the greater freedom of our times and country, but envious of and unfavorable to it. You cannot endure that others who do not want to come into your enthusiastic Babel should erect separate and special houses and assemble there to conduct religious services as they please. At every opportunity you taunt them and ridicule everything that they do. You say you desire that people shall sneak into each other's houses according to the example of the first church, as you and your like do, and there hear something said irrationally of God and Christ, of great saints, of blind faith, of senseless secrets, and be persecuted in so doing. If it matters so much to you, you can go back to Europe, you would get enough of it. But if you prefer to enjoy here the liberty that is granted to you of meeting in private houses, then permit others the liberty of erecting special meeting houses, doing with them and fitting them up as they desire. Why do you have to disturb them, since you are not one of them? You are not at all the man who is qualified to make laws for people and rule them. Even if you have a press and print newspapers, you are in the main as well qualified to criticize the Christian religion, church affairs and the condition of the first churches as a cripple to dance. You think if you have displayed enough blind zeal and quoted enough scriptural passages you will have proved and sustained your point. But all this a wild Jesuit can also do, and in the end if he cannot agree with you he directs you threateningly to the Saviour to settle the question with Him. Nevertheless he is and remains a zealous and superstitious Jesuit and not a good and sensible man. That this is the truth even farmers can understand. I would have much more to tell you but will preserve it for another opportune time.

There is not much of interest to the student of history in these early German newspapers. They are more taken up with religious controversy than with local news. But this paper, the first bilingual newspaper in America, is proof that Franklin was interested in the problem of assimilating the non-English-speaking people of his time.

MEMOIR

OF

CHARLES PICKERING BOWDITCH

By MOORFIELD STOREY

Charles Pickering Bowditch, the son of Jonathan Ingersoll and Lucy Orme (Nichols) Bowditch, was born in Boston on September 30th, 1842. His descent was distinguished. Timothy Pickering was one of his great-grandfathers, his paternal grandfather was the celebrated mathematician, Nathaniel Bowditch, while all the other strains which mingled in his veins were of the best that New England offers, vigorous and able people of high integrity, great public spirit and distinct purpose in life, good citizens in every sense of the word. As a child he lived in Canton, Massachusetts, near the shores of Ponkapoag pond, and his childish memories were of a country boy's life in pleasant surroundings and the atmosphere of a cultivated home. He had few playmates and in his early years did not go to school but was educated by a tutor and by his mother's reading, an admirable way of forming a boy's tastes during the years when lasting impressions can be made by proper guidance, and well suited to young Bowditch whose mind was active and full of interest in very varied things.

He was fitted for college at Mr. Dixwell's school, where he led his class, standing first among fifty-one pupils, and entered Harvard in the summer of 1859. In the Freshman year he was the first scholar in his class, but early in his Sophomore year his class resented the dismissal of eight classmates for hazing, and showed their displeasure by putting some of them in a cart and dragging them round a part

of the college yard and neighboring streets with groans for the Faculty. Bowditch held the end of the rope and was suspended in consequence for six months. His taking part in the affair is worth mentioning only as evidence of his impulsive nature. Where he felt that he was right he acted promptly and without thought of personal consequences. He rejoined his class in May 1861 and held high rank until his graduation.

During his absence from college President Lincoln was inaugurated, and Bowditch went to Washington, armed with letters to Senators Sumner and John P. Hale and Representative Alexander H. Rice. Thanks to Senator Hale he was admitted to the Presidential party, was introduced to Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln, and then drove with them to the Capitol where he stood within ten feet of the President during the inaugural. He walked out close behind Lincoln and Buchanan, and to his life-long regret declined an invitation to lunch at the White House, "thus failing," as he says, "to see the last of what was one of the most historic days in the history of the Republic." He was not impressed by the appearance of either Buchanan or Lincoln, but in an autobiographical fragment he says of Lincoln: "I shall always regret that I was unable to detect under his rough exterior some of the wonderful qualities which were in him." It is fair to suggest that when one is waiting to deliver a very important speech, his best qualities are not on exhibition.

It was a wonderful opportunity, and very likely contributed more to Bowditch's development than a month or more at Harvard would have done.

In July 1861 at the end of his Sophomore year the defeat of Bull Run roused him to immediate action. On the 22nd of July he wrote his father asking permission to join a regiment saying, "We have been defeated most abominably and must retrieve our fortune." His father refused permission, but Bowditch was not satisfied that the refusal was right, and in a second letter said: "The North seems in a torpor from which nothing can wake them except some terrible disaster ten times as severe as that which we have received. The country must be aroused to a sense of its danger. The

regiments are not filling up fast, and if this goes on the barbarous system of drafting must be resorted to. The country wants soldiers, and before Massachusetts should come to drafting I think that every gentleman and every gentleman's son ought to go into the field. Such a feeling would exercise a good influence on everybody." At about the same time he had printed and posted around Boston a "Call to Arms."

He went on for another year in college and then on the 5th of August, 1862, wrote his father again asking leave to go, saying that "while those who have families to support, or whose absence would bring distress to many others have some reason for staying at home, all others ought to go. Now here I am of no earthly use in my present position, and have completed except for one year my whole college course; there is no doubt the country wants men and that speedily. . . . It is everyone's duty to enlist if he can, why isn't it mine, as well as other people's? "

The call for three hundred thousand more troops which was published on the 6th of August intensified his feeling, and he urged his request with great fervor. His father however adhered to his decision and wished him to finish his college course. The correspondence was closed by his saying in a letter to his mother, "I think you both show a lack of patriotism." That he stayed at home was evidently not his fault.

Before his senior year was ended, however, on the 23rd of May 1863, he was commissioned a Second Lieutenant in the 55th Mass. Volunteer Infantry, a colored regiment, was made First Lieutenant on the 7th of June, 1863, and a Captain on the 29th of June in the same year. He joined the regiment in camp at Readville on the 22nd of May, 1863, and remained there until July, when they were sent to Newbern, N. C.

From this time his frequent letters to his parents give a full account of his military experiences. After a few days in camp near Newbern the regiment was ordered to South Carolina. The men were ordered to move in light marching order with three days cooked rations, leaving the officers' tents standing and almost all their baggage in them. A de-

lay in getting over the bar after leaving Newbern, owing to the overcrowding of the ship, led him to write, "It is abominable to have to wait when we might have had a hand in the fall of Charleston." The high command did not keep pace with the hopes of the army, and from early in August until the last of September Bowditch remained in camp on Folly Island doing fatigue duty, occasionally under artillery fire, but not engaged in any battle. The operations against Charleston were not pushed vigorously and it was more than two years before Charleston fell into the hands of the Union army, and then as a result of Sherman's successes on land. The heat was very severe, the water bad, the conditions uncomfortable, and Bowditch was fully alive to all the drawbacks of the situation, but he bore them bravely and cheerfully and made an excellent officer.

Shortly after the middle of August he was attacked by diarrhoea, which he could not shake off, and finally was given sick leave, when he went home where he stayed till about the end of November. He then went back to his regiment with a number of men who had been sick and found his company reduced to six privates, two corporals and a sergeant. "The rest had been sent off on details." He remained on Folly Island till about the middle of February when he was ordered North, and on reaching home received his commission as captain in the 5th Massachusetts Cavalry, a colored regiment commanded by Col. Henry S. Russell. With this regiment he went to the front in Virginia, and there it was used for picket duty on the James River. He was under fire in some comparatively small actions but escaped unhurt. After service in guarding prisoners at Point Lookout in Maryland he resigned his commission and on August 31, 1864, was discharged from the service, after twelve months of chronic diarrhoea which incapacitated him for military duty.

His letters are very interesting, but many of them leave on the reader's mind the impression that the war so far as he saw it was conducted inefficiently, and that especially in South Carolina much might have been accomplished by a vigorous campaign. From many sources one is forced to the conclusion that our commanders were too often

negligent and lacking in earnest purpose. He criticized a good deal but he did his part well, and his experience with the negro troops under his command gave him a great respect for them, and a deep interest in the fortunes of the race. He recognized the nation's debt to the negro, his gifts to the colored schools were constant, and he was always glad to meet their teachers. His friendship for the colored race showed itself in help of many kinds while he lived.

Early in 1865 he began the search for employment. The excitement which followed the discovery of oil in Pennsylvania led him, as it did many others, to seek a fortune in oil wells, and in February he started for the oil region. He remained there with occasional vacations until the middle of October, and during the interval he had many interesting but unremunerative experiences, and his fond hopes of striking oil vanished. When therefore in October he was offered the charge of Mrs. William Wadsworth's estate at Geneseo in New York he accepted the offer gladly.

The following June he was married to Miss Cornelia Rockwell, a daughter of Julius Rockwell, who served three terms as a Representative in Congress, for a short time succeeded Edward Everett as a Senator from Massachusetts, and later for many years was a judge of the Superior Court. A long and singularly happy married life followed. They had four children, three daughters and a son, and no one who knew the family could fail to be impressed with the charming relations between its members and the delightful humor which pervaded the family life.

The Wadsworth estate consisted of some 14,000 acres of farming land in New York, and a larger number of acres in Ohio and Michigan, some of them timber land and one large marsh of no use till it was drained. Bowditch was without knowledge of farming or experience in dealing with large bodies of real estate, nor could he bring to the management of personal property any considerable acquaintance with bookkeeping or questions of investment, but he felt that if his father and Mr. Edward Austin, the brother of Mrs. Wadsworth, were willing to try him, he was willing to rely on their judgment of his fitness.

He threw himself into his new work with great energy and

enthusiasm and managed the property well. Among other things he procured the legislation in Ohio which was necessary to allow the drainage of about 9000 acres of marsh land, and carried the plan through greatly to the profit of the estate. He also had the management of the Ayrault estate in Geneseo. In 1872 the younger of Mrs. Wadsworth's sons came of age, and the period for which he was engaged ended, so he returned to Boston and entered upon the business of his life, the care of trust property.

He established a reputation for business ability, and was naturally called upon to direct and advise as to the conduct of great business enterprises. He was a director in manufacturing corporations like the Massachusetts Cotton Mills in Massachusetts and Georgia, the Pepperell Manufacturing Company and other corporations engaged in making cotton cloth. He was a director and afterward president of the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company, one of Boston's most conservative institutions, and of which his grandfather and his father had both been presidents, and was a director of the Boston and Providence Railroad Company, the most courteously managed railroad corporation which had a terminus in Boston. When the discovery of the telephone astonished the world he became interested in the American Bell Telephone Company, and for a number of years was active on its board of directors, and for three years its Vice-President. During the clouded days when the enterprise was starting, he helped to solve the difficulties which beset its path and checked its extravagances.

His mind was so active, his tastes and interests so varied, his vigor and energy so great, that he was not content with meeting the demands of his business, and devoting his leisure to sport. Not only was he ready to help with those semi-public local institutions which are loaded upon the backs of leading citizens, like the Boston Athenaeum, the Bunker Hill Monument Association, the Massachusetts Horticultural Society and the Boston Natural History Society, in all of which he was active as member or officer, but he was also very much enlisted in certain kinds of study and research. He was much attracted by archaeology, and by that branch

of archaeology known as genealogy. He undertook to write the Pickering genealogy, beginning with the first settler in this country, and originally conceived the idea of giving the genealogy of each family which became connected by marriage with the Pickerings, with portraits and illustrations of various kinds, but though he finally realized that his scheme was too ambitious, he did not rest until he had produced three large volumes, and a large book of tables, an admirable piece of work. It is perhaps fortunate that such ambitious genealogists are rare, for if each family were equally well provided few libraries could contain their records. This taste led him to join the various genealogical societies in his neighborhood, and he also found time for the Loyal Legion, the Unitarian Club, the American Forestry Association and many others, all of which took more or less time and some money.

His strongest scientific interest was archaeology, and to that he devoted much time and much money. He was one of the founders of the American Anthropological Association, and "was a generous supporter of the cause of anthropology in America, ever ready with advice and contributions to meet deficits." The tribute of Mr. Tozzer in the *American Anthropologist* may be quoted in part, for Bowditch's position among archaeologists is appreciated best by those who shared his interest, and his contributions to the subject were numerous and important.

After a pleasure trip to southern Mexico and Yucatan, in 1888, Mr. Bowditch's main interest, outside that of his business as trustee, became centered in Maya antiquities. This enthusiasm for a region up to that time neglected and practically unknown resulted in establishing an entirely new field in American Anthropology.

Mr. Bowditch's connection with the Peabody Museum of Harvard University was a long and a close one. From 1888, when the records show he presented his first gift to the Museum, up to the time of his death, he was its greatest benefactor. In 1894 he was elected a trustee of the Museum and he served on the Faculty of this institution continuously from that time onward, rarely missing a meeting and always taking a most active part in the deliberations of that body.

In 1891 the Museum sent its first expedition to Central America. With the exception of only a few years this expedition has been an annual occurrence up to the present time. Mr. Bowditch planned and provided for these trips with little outside aid. The early work of Gordon, Saville, and Owens in Copan and the Uloa Valley, the discoveries of Maler on the Usumacinta River and Peten, the long continued investigations of Thompson in Yucatan and especially in the Cenote of Chichen Itza, the expeditions of Tozzer, Merwin, and Hay in British Honduras and northern Guatemala, of Lothrop in Honduras, the second expedition of Morley in Yucatan, and the work of Spinden in southern Yucatan are the most important activities in this line. A very large number of hitherto unknown ruined sites were disclosed and a numerous addition to the wealth of hieroglyphic inscriptions resulted.

There is hardly a man now working in the Central American field today who was not directly beholden at some time in his career to Mr. Bowditch for encouragement and aid.

His interest in sending out expedition after expedition has resulted in a large accession to the collections of the Museum. Among the most important of these are: the large number of original stone carvings from Copan as the result of a concession from Honduras in 1891 and continuing for ten years, molds and casts of the principal stelae and altars from Copan and Quirigua, lintels and stelae from Yaxchilan and Piedras Negras, and many of the sculptured stones from Chichen Itza, collections of pottery and other objects from the Uloa Valley and Copan, from Holmul, and from many of the ruins of Yucatan. Second to none is the unparalleled collection from the Sacred Cenote of Chichen Itza. This work was planned and financed almost entirely by Mr. Bowditch. The magnitude of these collections can be seen from the fact that they now fill at least three-fourths of the two large halls given over to Mexico and Central America. . . .

As the grandson of Nathaniel Bowditch his mind ran to mathematics and his special interest in Central America was the study of the hieroglyphic inscriptions. His pioneer work in this field was second only to that of Goodman and Forstemann. His acute mind established many facts hitherto unknown concerning the Maya hieroglyphic writing. His unbiased opinion, strengthened by most painstaking study, was brought to bear on the many unsettled problems of the hieroglyphic system. The results of his investigations are summed up in his writings. Special mention should be made of his book, *The Numeration, Calendar Systems, and Astronomical Knowledge of the Mayas*. This work was a

landmark in the study of the Central American writing and served to focus attention on this subject as no other book had done. His mental agility in working out the dates of the inscriptions and his feats of rapid calculation, often done without the aid of pencil and paper, were always received with wonder and admiration by his friends and colleagues in this study. His writings were almost exclusively technical in nature and served as guides to the specialist on the way to a complete elucidation of the hieroglyphic writing. . . .

Another activity of Mr. Bowditch in Maya studies was the collection of works and documents covering this area. He built up gradually one of the best working libraries on this subject, and afterwards gave it to the Museum. He had the Nuttall Codex copied and published, and Laud Codex in the British Museum copied, and, at the time of his death, he was having prepared a copy of the Sahagun manuscript in Florence with its many colored illustrations. Mr. William Gates kindly allowed Mr. Bowditch to purchase duplicate sets of the photographic reproductions of over fifty thousand pages of manuscripts and rare books on Central America and Mexico. This comprises practically everything in manuscript form now extant on the languages of Central America and much of the material on Mexican linguistics. These reproductions have been bound and given to the Museum. Mr. Bowditch himself reproduced the various manuscripts which he had given to the Museum as well as several which are in other collections.

No field of activity was overlooked. He became the sponsor of several Fellowships. The first Fellowship in American Archaeology of the Archaeological Institute of America as well as the Central American Fellowship of the Peabody Museum were given by him. He was in great part responsible for the establishment of the Division of Anthropology in Harvard University and an Instructorship in Central American Archaeology was first established by him. Instruction in this subject has been carried on by Harvard since 1905.

As one of the Founders of the American Anthropological Association, Mr. Bowditch was a generous supporter of the cause of Anthropology in America. His ready response could always be depended upon for overcoming deficits and for advice. There is perhaps no other instance in American Anthropology where an effort in one field of interest has been so long continued, so intense, and so productive of results. His monument is the Central American collections in the Peabody Museum, its Maya publications, and its remarkable collection of books and manuscripts

on Middle America. This monument will continue to increase in size as his generous interest in the Museum will be reflected in future activities in the Maya field.

These activities would seem to have completely filled a very busy man's life, but he found time to travel in this country, the West Indies and Honduras, where he made an excursion which entailed serious hardship. At other times he visited Mexico, Yucatan, North Africa, Sicily, the Philippines, Java, Japan and the usual haunts of tourists in Europe. He was actively interested in the Bacon-Shakespeare controversy, and wrote a little book on the *Connection of Bacon with the First Folio of Shakespeare's Plays and with the Books on Cipher of His Time*. He was very fond of poetry, liked the old ballads and folk-lore of which he had a small collection. He wrote an article on "Negro Songs from Barbadoes," and was no ordinary poet himself, as the "Verses of the Game Club" in which he was a prominent member and which are preserved among the treasures of this Society abundantly show.

He was not a student devoted wholly to his books. He had outdoor tastes. He loved a horse and was at home on his back. One of his greatest pleasures was to ride on the trails over the hills of Santa Barbara during his six winters in California. Life was full of resources and he was always occupied. He was warm-hearted, impetuous, firm in maintaining his opinions, not suffering fools gladly or tolerant of error. He was glad to help his fellowmen, and many a young man owed him the help which secured his education or his start in life.

He lived a happy, a full and a very useful life. He made friends always, and though his vigorous speech sometimes gave momentary offence, it left no feeling of resentment, and he had no enemies. Whatever his hand found to do he did with his might, and his place is among those high-minded, warm-hearted, able and public-spirited citizens to whom Massachusetts owes her standing in the country and the world.

JUNE MEETING

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 14th instant, at three o'clock, P.M., the President, Mr. LODGE, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From Vincent Y. Bowditch, a volume containing *The Latimer Journal*, 1842-43, and letters, posters and clippings, kept by his father, Dr. Henry Ingersoll Bowditch.¹

From Winslow Dwight, of Cambridge, by deposit, the Dwight Collection gathered by his late father, Richard Henry Winslow Dwight. The papers date from colonial days in Massachusetts and relate to the Dwight family, to the western part of the State, and to the Williams family, closely connected with the founding of Williams College.

From Miss Lucy Houghton Eaton, of Boston, the manuscript journal kept by her father, Joseph Dowding Bass Eaton, of a journey from New York to Boston in 1823; a Bible, 1578, once owned by Capt. Alden Bass; and a Boston City Medal awarded to Miss Eaton when a pupil in the Bowdoin School, 1860.

From Dr. J. Collins Warren, papers from the estate of Mrs. Gardiner Howland Shaw.

From Henry J. Bowen, a letter of L. Trescott, Hackensack, Sept. 9, 1781, and a Massachusetts Province Tax Warrant, March 22, 1731[-32], signed by Jeremiah Allen.

From Frederic Amory, papers describing the Faneuil and Vassall mansions on Cotton Hill, Boston, 1896 and 1870.

From Mrs. Frederic C. Shattuck, account and letter books of Thomas Lee, Jr., Boston, 1800-1845.

From Miss Clara Bertha Dobson, of Ipswich, by gift and deposit, manuscript volumes kept by her grandfather, Lemuel Shattuck, historian of Concord, Mass.

By purchase, the oath of allegiance signed by Wait Winthrop in 1701; and two commissions issued by the major part of the Council of Massachusetts, 1776, to Eliphalet Cary as Major in the third regiment, Plymouth County, February 14, 1776, and to Elias Jacobs, as 2d Lieut., in the first regiment, York County, June 25, 1776.

¹ *Proceedings*, LVI. 170.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following accessions:

From the estate of Miss Edith Andrew, by bequest, an old-fashioned tall clock, bearing on its face the name of Nathaniel Mulliken, Lexington, given to Gov. John A. Andrew on Dec. 25, 1864, by Oakes Ames and twenty-three other persons; also a bust, in marble, of Governor Andrew, by Thomas Ridgeway Gould, 1864.

From James B. Wilbur, a Corresponding Member, two indented bills of the Colony of New York, of the first issue, May 31, 1709, signed by Robert Walter, John De Peyster, and Robert Lurting.

From the estate of Pelham Winslow Warren, New York, two mourning rings made in 1763, inscribed "J. Gray. Ob. 17. Sep. 1763. Æ 6 D"; and "M. Gray Ob. s Nou. 1763. Æ 33."

From Miss Margaret B. Slade, of Chestnut Hill, a photograph, framed, of Col. Henry Bromfield (1727-1820), from a portrait painted by Samuel Finley Breese Morse, in 1818.

From the estate of Mrs. Gardiner Howland Shaw, engravings of Rev. Charles Follen, and Mrs. Eliza Lee Follen; and nineteen Mexican and Peruvian dollars.

From Miss Sophia A. Underwood, an engraving of Washington with a family group, copyrighted by L. P. Rossiter and Louis R. Mignot, New York, 1863, bearing the signature of Thomas Oldham Barlow; also a lithograph of the Columbus Caravels, 1893, from a sketch by W. L. Hudson.

From T. Julien Silsby, the medallic badge of the Congress of the Sons of the American Revolution, Nashville, 1923.

From Mrs. John Torrey Linzee, by deposit, the sea-chest which belonged to Capt. John Linzee, of the British Sloop-of-War *Falcon*, which took part in the Battle of Bunker Hill.

From Capt. T. G. Frothingham, a photograph of the United States iron-clad steamship *Roanoke*, 1863.

THE THEODORE N. VAIL MEDAL

Mr. NORCROSS then presented in behalf of the New England Telephone and Telegraph Company two bronze specimens of the Vail Medal, with the following letter and memorandum:

Boston (8), Mass., June 9, 1923.

Dear Sirs:

The Trustees of the Theodore N. Vail Memorial Fund have taken pleasure in complying with your request, received through Mr. G. G. S. Perkins, that replicas of the medal granted telephone employees for noteworthy public service be provided for exhibition in your collection of medals.

Two of these replicas accompany this letter and are presented to The Massachusetts Historical Society so that they may be displayed to show the obverse and the reverse of the medal. One of these replicas bears the number 263 on its edge and the other bears the number 264. On the edge of each replica has been engraved "The Massachusetts Historical Society."

It has been believed that the Society might wish to know the purpose of this medal and the way in which it is awarded, and a memorandum is attached that may be found interesting. I am,

Very sincerely yours,

E. W. LONGLEY
Chairman,
Committee of Award,
Theodore N. Vail Medals.

The Massachusetts Historical Society,
1154 Boylston Street,
Boston, Mass.

MEMORANDUM

The Vail Medal awards are provided by the Vail Memorial Fund, as a memorial to Theodore N. Vail, late President of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, who, at the time of his death, April 16, 1920, had long been recognized as one to whose leadership in the telephone field was largely due the expansion of the Bell System and the development of the art of telephony.

Under the terms of the establishment, bronze, silver and gold medals are awarded each year to members of the Bell Telephone organization throughout the United States, for acts or services which conspicuously illustrate Mr. Vail's ideals in public service.

The bronze medals are awarded by Regional Committees, appointed from the territory of each Associated Company of the

Bell System. Each of these committees designates the members of the telephone organization in its own territory to receive these medals.

The awards of gold and silver medals are determined each year by a National Committee of Award, which reviews the cases in which bronze medals have been awarded, selecting for special recognition, without regard to locality, those whose services seem to have been of conspicuous excellence or importance.

The Vail Medal was designed by Adolph A. Weinman of New York. The face of the medal bears a characteristic portrait of Mr. Vail, while the reverse shows an allegorical group, representing Service, supported by Loyalty and Devotion. Around the rim are the words "The Vail Medal for Noteworthy Public Service."

The Vail medals are not awarded merely for acts of heroism or for spectacular deeds, although noteworthy heroism often characterizes the service performed, nor are they a reward for routine faithfulness in the performance of daily tasks. Their purpose is rather to honor the memory of Theodore N. Vail by special recognition of a few of the most conspicuous examples of noteworthy service that are daily occurrences among telephone employees, and are characteristic of the spirit of telephone service in the United States.

The Editor, for the Corresponding Secretary, who was absent, reported the receipt of a letter from M. Henri Pirenne, of Ghent, Belgium, accepting his election as an Honorary Member of the Society.

Mr. LODGE read a paper on

FRANCIS PARKMAN

Francis Parkman was born on the 16th of September, 1823, and this year, therefore, brings the hundredth anniversary of his birth. It seems to me only becoming, and I am sure that you will all agree with me, that this Society, of which he was an officer and a most eminent member, should not permit such an anniversary to pass without notice. This must be my excuse for asking your indulgence in addressing you briefly today.

Mr. Parkman died on the 8th of November, 1893. The regular meeting of the Society occurred on the following

day, when the president, Dr. Ellis, announced the death of Mr. Parkman and also informed the Society that he had in his possession a sealed letter which Mr. Parkman had written to him in 1868. There was no opportunity at that regular meeting, coming so immediately after his death, to do more, and a special meeting was called on the 21st of November which was devoted entirely to the tributes which the Society desired to pay to the memory of their distinguished associate. Dr. Ellis then read the letter which Mr. Parkman had sent him in 1868, together with the accompanying note; both are printed in full in the *Proceedings* of the Society.¹ Other members of the Society made brief addresses expressing the grief which all the members of the Society felt at Mr. Parkman's death, their sense of his great services to history and their admiration of his remarkable career. Dr. Holmes read a poem. He was then eighty-four years old, and it seems to me one of the best of his memorial poems, of which he wrote many. There certainly is no touch of age upon it either in form or feeling. In referring to the subject of Parkman's history occurs what seems to me the really great, often quoted, line:

The lilies withered where the lion trod.

The poem also was printed in the Society's *Proceedings*. Then Mr. Martin Brimmer presented a letter which Mr. Parkman had written to him, with an accompanying note dated November 14, 1888. Some extracts of the letter to Mr. Brimmer were printed in the *Proceedings* in the form of footnotes to the letter to Dr. Ellis and in full in Mr. Sedgwick's *Francis Parkman* in the American Men of Letters. The two letters which Mr. Parkman thus left were essentially the same but somewhat differently framed and worded. Both the letter to Dr. Ellis and the letter to Mr. Brimmer were written by amanuenses, but the letter to Mr. Brimmer was signed by Mr. Parkman in his own hand. There was no signature to the Ellis letter. These two letters give an account of the physical difficulties under which Mr. Parkman labored throughout his life and cover the whole period of his historical work. He tells the story

¹ 2 *Proceedings*, VIII. 349-369.

without complaint of any kind, without a trace of self-laudation, but simply as a matter of fact presentation of the extraordinary physical impediments which he had been obliged to overcome in performing the great work to which he had devoted his life. It is a very impressive, a very moving story.

I have alluded to this special meeting because it was not without certain dramatic features. Dr. Holmes died within the twelvemonth, on the 7th of October, 1894, and the poem he then read was probably the last of any importance which he wrote. Dr. Ellis died a little more than a year after the meeting, on the 20th of December, 1894. He had been the life-long friend of Mr. Parkman, for he was himself a student of all the history of our relations with the North American Indians and a recognized authority upon that subject. He was very much attached to Mr. Parkman. It was at once sad and impressive that both these men, who conferred so much luster on the recognition by this Society of Mr. Parkman's death, should have survived him barely a year.

Mr. Parkman was a man for whom I had always felt personally not only affection but a very deep admiration, and my first impression of him when I was a mere boy was so vivid, although boys are not very impressionable, that I never forgot it. I was less than ten years old at the time and I remember seeing, as if it were yesterday, on a brilliant winter's day a man coming up Beacon Street, attired in a long overcoat, light in color, and with a fur cap on his head. In each hand he had a heavy cane and, with the aid of his canes, moved with great rapidity, which I suppose is what first arrested my attention. At the lower corner of Beacon Street and Walnut Street, he suddenly stopped, leaned his back against the fence which ran beside the house then, I think, occupied by Mr. Robert Mason, and paused. He rested a few minutes and then started again on his canes and rushed off with the same rapidity. Everything about him was so striking that I never forgot it; in fact, I went home and told my mother of this gentleman whom I had seen walking with canes in that strange way and I asked her who it was. She was a contemporary of Mr. Parkman within two years, and

she at once said, "Oh, that was Frank Parkman," and then she told me, in a way that a boy would understand, how much pain he endured from physical disabilities, that he was nearly blind, and suffered also in other ways. We learn from his letter to Dr. Ellis that, in addition to his other troubles in the years from 1851 to 1860 he had water on the knee, which made any effort to walk very painful, and he speaks of 1858 as a period when he was at his worst in other directions, worn down with sleeplessness, with agonizing pains in his head, bringing with them almost complete inability to think or write. I suppose that it must have been just about this time that I saw him. The vision passed, although the memory of it did not fade, but what I saw was the courageous, desperate effort on his part to get some air and exercise.

Years elapsed after this boyish impression and when I came really to know him after my return from Europe in 1872 he was much better. He walked normally, he became one of the corporation of Harvard College, he was able to go about and see his friends, now and then he dined out, but not often, for his sleep was still insecure and his eyes required the most delicate and constant care. I found on nearer view that the striking figure of my boyhood was accompanied by a face and look even more striking. All Mr. Parkman's features were irregular. Under analysis I do not suppose one of them could have justly been praised as handsome. Yet I have seldom seen a finer face. Whatever the details, the effect was that of beauty; intellect, force, character, breeding, distinction, were all there in his strongly marked features, and, despite all he had passed through, so powerful had been his will that he had no expression of suffering nor in the least the look of an invalid. My acquaintance with Mr. Parkman began, as did that with Mr. Bancroft, and was continued in roses. Both were rose-growers and most successful. Mr. Parkman, however, carried his pursuit, taken up when he could not work at his history, to the perfection of a profession. He was one of the men who had the instinct of success and the spirit of combat in everything. He not only won prizes everywhere with his roses, but he wrote a most excellent

book in regard to them and their cultivation. The manner in which he dealt with this amusement was very characteristic. He pursued the occupation with relentless energy until he had made himself complete master of his subject and attained the highest degree of excellence.

From that time forward I saw much of Mr. Parkman and talked with him freely about politics and history and the affairs of the college. He dined with us occasionally, came to see us frequently, and was most kind to my children, who thought him the best of companions, for he had the qualities which attracted children, although I do not think that side of his character was generally appreciated. I happened before I left Washington to look over some letters which I had from Mr. Parkman at that time and he never failed not only to send a pleasant message to my wife but a particular message, often of some length, to my youngest boy, then a very little boy indeed, with whom he had first struck up an acquaintance on the street, I think, and in whom he took a great deal of interest. I also think, although I may have been mistaken, that if his attraction for children was not generally known, the same might be said with some truth of his abundant humor, sometimes a little grim but always very real and true. He was a perfectly fearless man and would set forth unpopular opinions with an entire disregard of consequences. As he expressed all his views on any subject with a most incisive vigor, no one was ever in doubt as to what he thought. But the memory which dwells with me was of his constant kindness and sympathy generously given to a very young man, of the patience with which he would listen, the help and advice which he would give, and the freedom with which he would discuss all subjects, interesting me very much and teaching me more.

Before I came to know him in this way, I had, as I have already said, acquired a great admiration for him. To him I dedicated in later years one of my books. In 1895, only two years after his death, Theodore Roosevelt and I published a little volume entitled *Hero Tales from American History*. We both had the same feeling in regard to Mr. Parkman and we found in him a subject for one of the Tales, which I tried to tell in the little sketch of his life

which the volume contained. The story was well placed, however briefly and inadequately told. One does not look usually to the lives of historians and men of letters for examples of heroism, and yet if there ever was a heroic life it was that of the man who wrote the books which tell the story of the great struggle between France and England for the control of the American Continent. My remembrance of Mr. Parkman, of his friendship and unvarying kindness to me, are among the best of the possessions which are assured to me by the grim security of the past.

Now let me pass from the man to the historian. As to his works, I agree with my friend, Mr. Rhodes, with whom I have often discussed them, that Parkman's history, for as he himself says, it is really one connected narration, belongs to that small number of histories which never become obsolete, are of the first rank and cannot be superseded. I am aware that this may be thought a strong statement, but at least I can say that I have weighed my words and, with your permission, I shall try to show, if I can, the reasons for that opinion and in what group of historians, in what illustrious company Mr. Parkman, in my judgment, takes his rightful place. I am not unmindful of the discussions which have arisen and the distinctions which have been attempted between history as a science and history as literature, but I confess these discussions and distinctions seem to me as futile as the controversy which raged once upon a time between realism and romanticism in novels and plays. Both are necessary to the highest achievement. Shakespeare was a romancer, the most charming and fascinating writer of romance conceivable, and yet, in his characters and situations, one of the greatest realists who ever lived. The material of history is gathered by patient toil, by scholarly research, by personal self-sacrifice to a noble purpose. Without this carefully collected material, history could not be written, but without the touch of literature it would never reach the world at large. That magic touch must be given by the investigator himself or by the man with the literary gift who follows him, for history which is not read by men and women generally is wholly useless for the highest purpose of its being. To judge and estimate any

historian in the large sense, as we wish to do here, we must treat his work not upon its research and learning alone but as literature and learning combined.

At the outset we must remember one harsh and only too often fulfilled condition which faces every historian. It is a depressing fact that very many histories which have instructed and delighted the world, as well as the distinguished reputations won by their writers, have been short-lived. In a comparatively brief time authors and books alike become merely names or, like Hume and Robertson, for example, are numbered with the English classics and never read. This seems a sharp injustice but it is a condition of historical work which increases our admiration for the courage and unselfishness of those who engage in it, whether as writers, investigators, or students. Yet this injustice, this discouragement, is inevitable and for the simple reason that men and women desiring to read history seek instinctively for the volume last published because therein are to be found the most recent fruits of the latest research and of the newest discoveries. This is a fate from which the great works of the creative imagination, of the poet, the dramatist, the novelist, the teller of tales, are wholly free. By their own intrinsic merits, if they survive physically at all, they live and die and are not affected by the revelations of archives or of archaeology. The story of Odysseus and the Suitors and the death of the old dog Argos, to take one most famous instance, are just as beautiful, just as thrilling, just as pathetic today as they were when they were recited to listening Greeks three thousand years ago. They will perish only with the human race and whether we determine from newly-found inscriptions, or ornaments, or utensils, or ruins, exactly who the "blue-eyed Achaeans" were, or remain in contented ignorance upon that point, matters nothing to the existence or to the charm of the Homeric tales.

It is in this distinction between the work of the creative and that of the historic imagination, crowded as the latter may be with the piled-up knowledge of the scholar and the investigator, that we find the reason for the very small number of historians, however eminent, who survive the

devouring years in the manner accorded to the writers of tales, of poems and of plays. What man has imagined and thought and written down on frail leaves or upon the skins of animals has triumphed over time and change in larger measure than what he actually did in life, even if there was someone to record his deeds and name in stone or bronze. Diligent, intelligent, unwearying explorations have brought to light not only the ruins of Olympia, but there and in other places statues and busts of Greek athletes which are of inestimable value to art as well as forms of great beauty. But the Odes of Pindar in honor of the Olympian, Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean games will tell us more about those games and what they meant to the Greek people and what the thoughts and feelings of that people may have been than all the statues and inscriptions now gathered in museums. The one can give us names and show us the great art of the sculptors; the other tells us of the men themselves, the religion they practiced, and of the people who supported and admired them. One was plastic art; the other, literature.

Starting then among the Greeks, and excluding of course all memoirs, biographies and autobiographies, who were the great historians, whose works, purely and solely as literature and without regard either to subject or to the knowledge conveyed, must be — I had better say ought to be — read in some language by every man and woman who calls himself or herself “well-educated.” I will not say “liberally educated” because that is old fashioned and implies “*literae humaniores*,” and the classics, not encouraged at present by schools and colleges and universities and other guardians of polite learning and of the higher education. I mean simply education in the broad and large sense which anyone who claims that most desirable qualification should possess.

Personally, I think that there are at least four such historians who ought to be a part of every education, not because their works add to the sum of our knowledge but because they are so clearly monuments of pure literature that no one who loves letters for their own sake can afford to pass them by. So complete is their supremacy in this

one aspect that their respective subjects are of quite secondary importance. I shall venture to speak of them briefly because in that way I can best bring out the definition which I hope to give to Mr. Parkman's place among the great historians who have appeared in recorded history. The four men then whom I should select are two Greeks, one Roman, and one Englishman.

Herodotus first. He has been called the "Father of History." He has also been called the "Father of Lies." The two descriptions are not necessarily incompatible. Less compatible are the accusations brought against him of scepticism as to the gods of his own religion on the one hand and on the other of being foolishly credulous. There is some ground for saying that he was not strictly a historian at all but he has held the title too long to be displaced. As to his credibility, so much assailed, it has always seemed to me that those who jeered had failed to remark the extreme care with which Herodotus distinguished between what he heard and what he knew of his own knowledge. Like many others, I suppose, I had noticed in "Euterpe," the Egyptian book, his allusion to the Kingdom of the Dwarfs, in Africa who dwelt on the banks of a great river running, as I recall, East and West. The statement did not at once command belief. Then Stanley went through Darkest Africa along the Congo and we heard of the "Aruwhimi" dwarfs whom he discovered there, hidden away in the forests, and it seemed to me that Herodotus on his main fact was not such a deceiver after all. But his veracity or his credibility, and he had a great deal more of both than used to be generally admitted, is not the question. The true point has been admirably stated by Mr. Birrell in his essay on Johnson. Speaking of Garrick, he says:

Johnson may have soiled his folios and sneered at his trade, but in life Johnson loved Garrick, and in death embalmed his memory in a sentence which can only die with the English language:

"I am disappointed by that stroke of death which has eclipsed the gaiety of nations, and impoverished the public stock of harmless pleasure."

Will it be believed that puny critics have been found to quarrel with this colossal compliment on the poor pretext of its falsehood?

Garrick's death, urge these dullards, could not possibly have eclipsed the gaiety of nations, since he had retired from the stage months previous to his demise. When will mankind learn that literature is one thing, and sworn testimony another?

Herodotus is certainly not "sworn testimony" but is pre-eminently great literature. Critics often accused him of repeating the chatter of the marketplace. So he has. He tells us the gossip which he heard in the street and marketplace and gives us the talk of the people, their folklore and stories. He tells us also of the sayings of priests and courtiers, of soldiers and kings. He describes the country. He narrates the popular myths and traditions. He analyzes the religion of the people and depicts their manners and customs. He was a traveler in strange lands, an observer, shrewd, active-minded, intelligent, a man of the world; altogether, as we read him, a simple, charming, delightful companion whose talk comes to us so pleasantly and in such friendly fashion across the centuries. And then, too, there are passages touching the heights and depths of feeling, of emotion, of aspiration. There is the famous conversation between Aristides and Themistocles before the battle of Salamis, when the fate of Greece was trembling in the balance. It is hearsay, if you like, invention, if you prefer the word, but Aristides sought out his enemy Themistocles and here is what Aristides said, roughly translated:

ἡμέας στασιάζειν χρεόν ἐστι εἰ ἐν τεῷ
 ἄλλῳ καιρῷ καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν τῷδε περὶ τοῦ
 δόκετος ἡμέων πλέω ἀγαθὰ τὴν πατ-
 ρίδα ἐργάσεται. — Herodotus, VIII. 79.

"It is becoming at any time and more particularly now that we should show which one of us shall best serve our country."

It seems to me very noble and very fine, and I remember quoting it once during the dark days of the war. At that moment I felt that the words of those great Greeks, if taken to heart by lovers of their country and by the defenders of freedom and civilization everywhere, might be of more real

worth to mankind than even the discovery of a new poison gas.

The other Greek in my short list is of course Thucydides. It so chanced that I was prepared for college in Felton's Greek reader and the selection from Thucydides was the Syracusan Expedition, which I suppose is as difficult Greek prose as can be found. It was a long time before the idea that Thucydides wrote to torment schoolboys was effaced from my mind, but there is no doubt, I think, that the great place of Thucydides in the world's literature is unquestioned. His history, including the speeches given in it, which do not rest on stenographic reports, is in style, in form, in reserve, in construction, one of the masterpieces of all literature.

The Roman historian, again of course, is Tacitus. He flourished nearly a century later than the Augustan age, in what might be called the Indian Summer of Latin literature, the period of Juvenal and Pliny the Younger. It cannot be said of Tacitus, as Dr. Mackail has so well said of Cicero, that he furnished the foundations of all the literary styles of Europe, but, although I have no pretense to Latin scholarship, I believe I may venture to assert that his style is unlike any other Latin prose style and that it is one of the most inimitable and most effective prose styles ever written; clear, lucid, powerful, epigrammatic in an extraordinary degree, and condensed to a point which would seem impossible. The arguments and sentences swiftly follow each other, penetrating like a bullet from a modern rifle, and yet always with variety and never wearisome. The *Annals* and *Histories*, both incomplete, give a picture of the earlier Caesars. Tacitus has been charged with prejudice, bitterness, slander even, but the picture lives and glows. The figures of Tacitus, like Rembrandt's wool syndics, are not "sitting for their portraits"; as John LaFarge said, "They are simply there." The "*Agricola*" and the "*Germania*" are short and, I think, complete. They are very different in subject and are both masterpieces. The "*Germania*," it may be said, is one of the most important historic documents we have, for it supplements the famous description by Caesar, and these two together are

the earliest and the best accounts we possess of the Germanic tribes as they existed in their forests and morasses before they poured out over Europe. But the purely historical value of the "Germania" as a contribution to knowledge is not needed to make secure the great place of Tacitus in the history of literature.

Thus we come to the fourth on the list — Edward Gibbon. A quarter of a century ago the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* was edited by Professor Bury of Cambridge, England. We are honored by having the name of Professor Bury upon the roll of our corresponding members. He is one of the most distinguished of English historians, a recognized master of the period treated by Gibbon, and himself the author of three admirable volumes upon the *History of the Later Empire*. No one can improve upon what he says of Gibbon in his introduction to the *Decline and Fall*:

That Gibbon is behind date in many details, and in some departments of importance, simply signifies that we and our fathers have not lived in an absolutely incompetent world. But in the main things he is still our master, above and beyond "date." It is needless to dwell on the obvious qualities which secure to him immunity from the common lot of historical writers, — such as the bold and certain measure of his progress through the ages; his accurate vision, and his tact in managing perspective; his discreet reserves of judgment and timely scepticism; the immortal affectation of his unique manner. By virtue of these superiorities he can defy the danger with which the activity of successors must always threaten the worthies of the past.

I have no thought, even if time would permit, of considering, as Professor Bury does so perfectly, the great achievement of Gibbon as a historian. It is enough that his work stands secure as pure literature. I shall pause only long enough to allude to his style, which Professor Bury justly speaks of as "unique." Let me take a single example, not from the *History* but from the *Autobiography*, not forgetting that we owe to Gibbon one of the half dozen best autobiographies of the Western World. You all know the passage:

Our immortal Fielding was of a younger branch of the Earls of Denbigh, who draw their origin from the Counts of Hapsburgh,

the lineal descendants of Ethico, in the seventh Century, Duke of Alsace. Far different have been the fortunes of the English and German divisions of the family of Hapsburgh. The former, the Knights and Sheriffs of Leicestershire, have slowly risen to the dignity of a peerage; the latter, the Emperors of Germany, and Kings of Spain, have threatened the liberty of the old and invaded the treasures of the New World. The successors of Charles the Fifth may disdain their humble brethren of England, but the Romance of Tom Jones, that exquisite picture of human manners, will outlive the palace of the Escorial and the Imperial Eagle of the house of Austria.

There is no disputing the splendor of that style, no possibility of closing our ears to the stately roll, like that of a great organ, of the sentences as they advance to the climax. Dean Cross of Yale in his fine biography of Henry Fielding has disposed once for all of the pleasing legend of the Hapsburgh descent of the English Fieldings, but that in no wise affects the Gibbonian statement. As Thackeray said, "To have your name mentioned by Gibbon is like having it written on the dome of St. Peter's. Pilgrims from all the world admire and behold it." His history looms like a great tower on the highway of literature, and none can pass along that road and leave it unnoticed or unread.

I do not forget the mediaeval historians like Villehardouin, Froissart, Monstrelet and Joinville. They are all interesting, all have a certain charm, especially Joinville. But they do not in literary art reach the summits attained by the four I have mentioned. They fascinate the student, but remain unread by a too careless world even when it is educated.

There is one other whose name, following my own personal feelings, I should like to add to the four I have already given as holding place and fame indelibly inscribed upon the roll of purely literary achievement. That is Macaulay. I allow for the fact that he was an idol of my youth and that the warm light of those early days shines upon him. I know well that his *History of England* is only an episode, a fragment of a great work never to be completed. The criticisms of his style are familiar. But I have read all his writings more than once. They have been companions

of many days and hours throughout my life. Only a year ago I read the *History of England* straight through from beginning to end. It seems to me now more strongly than ever that there is hardly anything in the literature of history to compare with the sweep of that great narration; nothing that surpasses the vividness and force sustained by wide learning in the picture he paints and the story he tells. I should place him by the side of Gibbon in the small company of the great men of letters who wrote history and left monuments of literature never to be overlooked.

I have dwelt perhaps too long on the great writers who have escaped the only too common fate of historians and have lived on through the centuries to be read with delight as literatures by succeeding generations. But they command the approach to the definition I desire to reach, for there is another group of historians who have also survived. These too are not numerous, although there are more of them than of those whom I have just mentioned. This group comprises those historians who have combined with high literary quality, which is of course essential, a great subject, together with a thoroughness of research which leaves little for any successor to glean and which cannot be affected in the great essentials by any later discoveries. It is in this group that Francis Parkman takes his place. Of the greatness of his subject, although not always appreciated or understood, there can be no question. He, probably from physical difficulties, published his history in detached divisions, but as he himself said they together form a connected history of "France in the New World." In my younger days it was still the fashion, I think, to regard American history as interesting only to Americans and the province of antiquaries and local historians. The general public felt that lacking the background of the past, of memorable places, of the scenes where generations of men had lived and struggled and fought, lacking also the decoration and the color which necessarily come with the stories of kings and courts and nobles of long descent, American history could not be very interesting because it had been made in a new world, a land of wandering Indian tribes, of vast plains, and mountains, of valleys, and forests

never touched by man. It was not an unnatural feeling and arose from a failure to reflect upon what the history developed by emigrants from the old world in this new land really meant. The settlements of the French in Canada were as early as our own. Their expeditions and their explorations were organized by a despotic government and they reached from Quebec to the Great Lakes, to the head waters of the Ohio, and then further westward to the head waters of the Mississippi and down that great river to New Orleans. The settlements of the English-speaking people on the eastern coast were left to grow up in their own way without any settled plans or, indeed, much thought of the great wilderness on the edge of which they made their farms and built their houses. But the people of the English speech colonized, became Americans, were independent and upheld by no government aid. While the French settlements remained almost stationary, the English colonies rapidly increased. At last, in the middle of the eighteenth century, the struggle between these two contending forces, which had been clashing everywhere along the borders, met at last in final conflict, and what is comprised in the United States and Canada passed finally into the control of the English-speaking peoples. It is this mighty struggle for the possession of a continent which Francis Parkman narrated in his history. There could have been no greater or more momentous subject. That which was at stake was not merely the victory of France or of England. It was whether the coming people of the North American continent should speak English. It was whether from the Atlantic to the Pacific and north of the possessions of Spain the common law and the institutions of England should prevail or the institutions of France and the civil law. It is epic in its magnitude and Francis Parkman looked at it and treated it fitly and with tireless research as a historian but also with the imagination and the understanding of the epic poet. Part of his history dealt with the Indians, and that covered the control of all the vast region of the United States lying between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi. This was the question which above all others occupied the thoughts and filled the far-seeing vision of Washington. It

was the removal of the British from the Western posts which led to the Jay treaty. To the control of the continent Washington, looking before and after, was ready to make great sacrifices. Therefore, Mr. Parkman had to deal with the Indians as well as with the French. He was peculiarly fitted for the mastery of his subject. He was a lover of nature, of the wilderness, of the woods and the mountains and the streams. He had lived among the Indians, at a terrible cost to his health and strength, but he knew and understood them. He was wonderfully equipped for his great task. This was only the smaller part, however, of his work. The dominant theme was the march of the two opposing systems of law and language, which were moving together across the continent and on the outcome of whose final conflict the fate of a great continent depended. Francis Parkman proved himself entirely equal to his subject, to the field of history which he had selected, and it is hardly possible to give him higher praise than in this one sentence. For many years practically blind, never able to use his eyes except in the most limited way, crippled at times physically by affections of the nerves, a constant sufferer from sleeplessness and intense pains in the head, he examined difficult manuscripts, toiled through dusty archives, amassed material for an almost untouched subject, and wrote a great history in many volumes. If he had simply cared for his health and borne without complaint that long disease, his life, those who knew him would justly have wondered at and admired such fortitude. But he trampled pain and infirmity under foot, performed an amount of labor which would have been heavy for the strongest, and if ever there was a high and victorious spirit it was his. There is no room for the discovery of new material sufficient to supplant his story or seriously modify his conclusions. It will be no more possible for the future historians of the American continent to push Parkman aside than it is for new writers on the Roman Empire or the early Middle Ages to relegate Gibbon to obscurity or remove him from the lonely height which he occupies with Thucydides and Tacitus. So thorough was Parkman's work that but little new material exists untouched by him; and his

histories have, moreover, the enduring qualities of precision, fairness, and dignity, as well as a finished and simple style, usually somewhat cold but capable of rising to great heights, as in the chapter which describes the victory and death of Wolfe and the defeat and death of Montcalm, heroic figures both. The literary art seems to me very fine and throughout the history of "France in the New World" we feel, I think, as one does about Virgil, that the writer possesses unfailing distinction and that his work is the work of a great gentleman.

No one can appreciate more than I how inadequate from the purely critical point of view what I have said is in doing full justice to Francis Parkman both as a historian and a man of letters. But as I come to an end, the one thought after all that is uppermost in my mind is that gallant figure winning a great victory over the physical encumbrances of his life and bringing a noble achievement not only to history, not only to the literature of his beloved country, but to the literature of the world as well.

Halting with feeble step, or bending o'er
The sweet-breathed roses which he loved so well,
While through long years his burdening cross he bore,
From those firm lips no coward accents fell.

A brave, bright memory! his the stainless shield
No shame defaces and no envy mars!
When our far future's record is unsealed,
His name will shine among its morning stars.

Mr. HALE spoke on

MUSICAL AND THEATRICAL LIFE IN A NEW ENGLAND VILLAGE IN THE SIXTIES.

"The words of Mercury are harsh after the songs of Apollo," as the Spaniard says in "Love's Labors Lost."

The title given to this informal talk is in a way misleading. There were reasons in this village of the Sixties why there was no great interest in music or the theatre.

Before the inhabitants cut down some noble elms to make a tar sidewalk rigidly straight; before the establishment of Smith College brought in a professorial aristocracy, Northampton was delightfully democratic. This was shown in town meetings, where the hired man in his smock-frock, a man of good English stock whose ancestors had owned their farms in Hampshire County for several generations, would argue with the lawyer or the clergyman and often worst him; where the expressman would be eloquent in asking money for Decoration Day. The stone mason walking home with the banker would discuss the sermon preached that morning and reason of free-will and predestination.

If there were "social classes" they were formed by the various churches. The leading churches in numbers and influence were Congregational. The minister of one was highly respected in consequence of the report that his father, a missionary, had narrowly escaped being devoured by cannibals. The minister of the other, a man of an imposing figure on the street or in the high pulpit, took a gloomy view of life, though he enjoyed his own sounding periods. I remember a sermon he preached on the evil of novel-reading. He condemned Dickens for his Chadband and Stiggins; there was no religion in Thackeray; Bulwer was flagrantly immoral. Yet in private, at the table of a parishioner, he would cheerfully consume the baked meats and rival Dr. Johnson in his passion for cups of tea.

Some of the villagers, like Walt Whitman, were "pleased by the earnest words of the sweating Methodist preacher"; some were Baptists — hard-shell, or pedobaptists, I know not. There was a little Episcopalian Church. I remember my father pointing to it and saying contemptuously: "They have flowers there on Easter and evergreens on Christmas." Perhaps those most interested in books, art, world-affairs attended the small Unitarian Church. They read Emerson; they took foreign reviews; they were prominent in a book-club. There was a Roman Catholic Church with a worthy priest and a small congregation. In those days there were few Irish and French Canadians in the town.

The Bible entered into the daily speech and colored it. Family prayers were the rule. The community was church-

going. Sunday was strictly observed. Pleasure horses were not used on that day except to take the old or the weak to the meeting-house. Sunday schools thrived. The men before going to church slushed their hair and abundant whiskerage with precious ointments. The children wore their Sunday best. Women in mourning were shrouded in crape. They ate caraway seeds during the sermon. Young and old stood during the "long," as well as the short, prayer.

In Florence, which was a part of the town, stood Cosmian Hall with a congregation of free-thinking men and women, unjustly called "atheists" by the orthodox. Samuel Bowles of the *Springfield Republican*—a newspaper widely read in the valley, though many seldom agreed with the editorial views—described this gathering as made up of long-haired men and short-haired women. I recall a meeting in which a red-haired, gaunt keeper of a livery stable opened the service by reading Pope's "Universal Prayer." The chief speaker on that occasion was Bronson Alcott, who in the course of his remarks said that Americans would not really be educated, that laborers would not be happy and contented until every working-man possessed and read the works of Plato.

Saturday night was not observed as it was in some neighboring villages, where the Lord's Day began at sundown Saturday night and ended at sundown on Sunday. Nor did the young men and young women indulge in "sitting up Saturday night," the species of courtship described by Howells in "A Modern Instance."

There were few really Colonial houses. The older dwellings were as a rule on the box order, sometimes with a hall running through and two rooms on each side. A few manufacturers who had made money during the Civil War built houses of brick with what they were pleased to call Mansard roofs, roofs that also covered a bank or some public building. They decorated the front yard with an iron dog or deer. "Sanitary plumbing" was found only in a very few houses. Where there was a set tub, it was used legitimately only on Saturday night. On week days it was a receptacle for potted plants which could thus be easily

watered. Downing's plans for houses influenced some of the newly well-to-do, and there were one or two dwellings in the "Tudor" manner. One of the owners dined at six o'clock: he was suspected of aristocratic notions.

The furnishing of these new houses was not often in good taste. In the older and less pretentious ones there were here and there framed engravings on the walls, classical subjects with gods and goddesses, "The Regicides at Hadley," "The Death Bed of Webster," "Washington Irving and his Friends," the series of Cole's "Voyage of Life." John Brown's photograph was hung in one house, where there was a clothes brush with Henry Clay portrayed on the wooden back. A Dutch or German Jew visiting the village sold copies in oil of old Dutch and Flemish pictures, chiefly interiors. One hall contained a huge reproduction of Church's "Niagara."

There was an excellent Public Library, well stocked with standard books which were read. New publications were judiciously chosen. There were a few good private libraries. If on one shelf were the *Notes* of the Rev. Albert Barnes on the Gospels, on other shelves might be found Montaigne, Burton of *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, Bacon, Sterne, Lamb, Thackeray, Hawthorne, Swedenborg, and even *Moll Flanders*. The leading magazines were taken by many. Lossing's *Field Book of the Revolution*, the *Rebellion Record* and the *American Encyclopaedia* (in full Russia leather) were neighbors of Verplanck's or Hudson's edition of Shakespeare. Alexander Smith was regarded as more than a promising poet. There were a few volumes of the once popular "blue and gold" edition of poets published in Boston. The boys read Jacob Abbott's and Mayne Reid's stories, also Beadle's Dime Novels; the girls, the "Dottie Dimple" series, and tales by Miss Edgeworth. *Jane Eyre* was not regarded as a fit novel for the young or for maiden ladies.

The physicians for the most part were of the old school. Appendicitis was called inflammation of the bowels; pneumonia was known as lung-fever. Water was forbidden patients. The leading physician, bearded, wearing miraculous waistcoats, took snuff, and, driving about in a gig, dis-

pensed his pills and powders from a huge leather wallet. He had been in London and was fond of beginning a long-winded story: "As Sir Benjamin Brodie once said to me," no matter whether what Sir Benjamin had said was relevant or not to the case. A homœopathic doctor was respected as a man and enjoyed a fair practice.

Sweetbreads were regarded as offal and were given away to those who dared to eat them. English walnuts were considered dangerous to health even when sprinkled with salt. It was popularly thought that the eating of tomatoes brought on cancer. Oysters came to us unshelled and in little kegs. Children longed for long sticks of colored candy, gum drops, chocolate drops, molasses candy, liquorice drops, and Jackson balls. Spruce gum was chewed; so was tobacco, John Anderson's Solace in preference to plug. Fruit of all kinds was plentiful.

The social amusements were simple. Where cards were permitted in the household, the games were a most decorous whist, double bezique and cribbage. Casino came a little later. Backgammon, checkers and chess were approved. There were many homes where cards were looked on as the Devil's book. The young played kissing games at parties. Copenhagen — how did the game come to have that name? — and post-office were favorites. Swains took their girls buggy-riding and no harm came of it, even when the driver was one-armed. Certain dances were allowed. An irascible old gentleman who played a kit taught quadrilles, the schottische, and even the polka. There were parents who frowned on the waltz. It was not taught until a man with a waxed moustache came from a city near by and gave lessons. Many parents disapproved his fastidiousness in dress, his scented handkerchief and they said he had a dissipated air.

There were open bars in eating-houses and one tavern, but there was little drunkenness. Strange to say some of the more highly educated were the more diligent toss-pots, a lawyer or two, an ex-member of Congress, a few gentlemen of leisure. The great majority of the inhabitants were temperate; some teetotallers, but not fanatical. Cider was a common drink. There were two disorderly houses —

houses of ill-fame as they were then described — of a very low order; one was near the State Asylum for the Insane; the other was on the road to Amherst College. There was little or no scandal in what might be called society.

It was not unnatural that in this community there was little interest in theatrical shows, except when a visit was paid to Boston and New York. In the Sunday School library of the "Old" Church was a book, *The Way to the Pit*, showing the evils of theatre-going, with a frontispiece picturing the Tempter in the shape of a seedy person with a battered stovepipe hat pulling a half-reluctant country lad towards the theatre door. Private theatricals were allowed; farces by Morton, and comedies by Tom Taylor were staged by daring amateurs. At the end of the Civil War "The Drummer Boy of Shiloh" was performed so effectively that honest townsmen who had been cast as Confederate officers and soldiers were viewed with suspicion, if not cut in the street, when they resumed the occupations of this "so-daily life." Negro minstrels were not under the ban. Buckley's Serenaders, and Morris, Pell and Trowbridge visited us from Boston, and other companies were warmly welcomed. Alighting from the train the minstrels headed by a band would march up Main Street — for Northampton had a Main Street — to the Town Hall, a hideous building with turrets and a battlement. The minstrels, with their wash-leather faces, made merry remarks, no doubt at the expense of the gaping lookers-on. The day following the performance the jokes, songs and sketches were gravely discussed. Jugglers — once the Japanese — Bohemian Glass Blowers, Bell Ringers with "Entertainers," came to the town hall. The greatest attraction, however, was John B. Gough, the lecturer, whether his subject was "Temperance" or one of a more pleasing nature; a far greater attraction than George Francis Train, "that Comical Brown" or the Cardiff Giant.

Tight rope walkers were applauded though some were shocked by the working costume of Mlle. Chose or Signora Appassionata and therefore refused to see the hat when it was passed in the street.

Circuses were considered by the greater number of

parents as immoral shows. Even the spotted horse in the ring was considered immoral, and the elephant was viewed suspiciously. The circus was taboo. The "dashing equestrienne" was necessarily a shameless hussy. "Look at her skirts." The clown was a foul jester. And so these honest men and women, proud of their profession and respecting themselves, were misunderstood, slandered. No doubt the real objection to the visiting circus was the army of camp-followers, pickpockets, bullies, swindlers in side shows.

There were tableaux, fairs, festivals for charitable purposes. A pronounced brunette maiden lady had been admired as Rebecca at the well of lemonade for many years.

Music was in a way encouraged. Late in the 18th century Moidore, a negro fiddler, was favorably known in the neighborhood by his playing for dancing, but in the years immediately before the Civil War and during the war music was associated chiefly with the churches. The choirs in at least three churches were of an unexpectedly high order. In one the leading tenor was a furniture dealer; the bass, a dentist. There were two native sopranos who had more than a local reputation. One of the organists, George Kingsley, was a man of indisputable talent, who, if he had had greater advantages, would have taken a prominent position in this country as composer and player. Modest to the point of shyness, he lived away from the village, cared for in his old age by an eccentric but devoted maiden daughter. Some of his hymn tunes are still to be found in the books for choir and congregational use. As appropriate music for the text they have not been equalled. More or less elaborate anthems were performed. "Before Jehovah's Awful Throne" always made a deep impression. During the singing of "Plunged in a Gulf of Dark Despair," the minister was so affected that he forgot for the moment to chew tobacco. Composers for the church did not then hesitate to turn phrases of operatic airs into hymn tunes, or use an aria, duet, trio or chorus for sacred words. The Prisoners' Chorus from "Fidelio"; the horn quartette from the overture to "Der Freischuetz"; the trio from "Attila"; the tenor and bass duet from "Martha" were thus employed, and many other instances might be cited. On one

festival occasion I remember the minister announcing that at the end of the service the organist would play the "Orgy" from "The Huguenots."

The Sunday School songs were, as a rule, mawkishly sentimental or flippantly joyous. At an open grave in the Burying Ground, a girl would sing "There's a Light in the Window for thee, Brother" — (or "Sister," according to the sex of the dead). In the school the children shouted "Marching Along," or "The Pearly Gates are Open Wide," or sobbed out "Sweet Hour of Prayer" and "Shall we gather at the River?"

There was little singing or playing the piano in private houses, although there were two or three piano teachers, one of whom had actually studied at the Leipsic Conservatory; but there were no musical gatherings, nothing corresponding to the Book Club of the village. A few boys and girls took piano lessons. Few concert companies visited the place. The arrival of the Temple Quartet with Mrs. H. M. Smith, soprano, of Boston, was an event. An enthusiastic lover of music, who kept a boot and shoe shop, would occasionally organize a party to hear an oratorio or a Theodore Thomas concert in Springfield.

There was, however, a Choral Union which met for rehearsal and gave concerts. Its repertory included the Chevalier Neukomm's dull oratorio, "David," once popular in Boston, and Mendelssohn's "First Walpurgis Night" for which the Germania orchestra of Boston was engaged, besides glees and part songs.

And just before the breaking out of the Civil War there was a performance of "Il Trovatore" by local singers with scenery and costumes. This I did not see, but it was said to be in some respects unexpectedly amusing. The opera was sung in English.

This was the life in the town on the Connecticut River whose natural beauty moved J. G. Holland to the writing of "near" poetry. It was an industrious, matter-of-fact, temperate, God-fearing community, with parents endeavoring to bring up their children in the nurture and the admonition of the Lord; a reasonably intelligent if somewhat poker-backed and narrow community, with a sprinkling of

the more liberal and more cultured; an old-fashioned community — would that there were more of them in the New England of today!

Mr. WOLKINS spoke on

LETTERS OF CHARLES PAXTON

Three original letters of Charles Paxton, written from Boston while a member of the American Board of Commissioners of the Customs, are of enough interest perhaps to justify adding them to the Society's manuscripts.

The letters of Charles Paxton were written to George Townshend, fourth Viscount Townshend (1724-1807), and through his brother Charles's influence Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (in residence) from August, 1767, to September, 1772. They are private communications to a highly-placed Englishman, and they are of value for their bearing on the customs establishment and measures taken to enforce the laws of trade. These letters have not appeared in print, and there is no reference to them in the report on the Townshend Manuscripts by the Historical Manuscripts Commission (XI. Pt. 4). Secured within a few weeks through a correspondent in London they are now given to the Society.

So little is known of Charles Paxton and his family that it will be of interest to collect the scattered references, if only to indicate the lines of a more careful study. One of his ancestors was in the Royal Navy. Writing in December, 1674, to Sir Joseph Williamson, then secretary to Lord Arlington at the head of the post office, Pepys informs him of a flyboat designed to carry his letters to Surinam, which would be followed by two hired ships, one of which was the *America* of London, Roger Packston, master.¹ This was probably the father of Wentworth Paxton, supposed by Charnock to have been a native of New England, who

¹ Catalogue of the Pepysian Manuscripts, II. 417. The charter party is in Cal. State Papers, *Am. and West Indies*, 1675-1676, 187. The voyage is described by Cranfield, *Ib.*, 283, 289. The object of the expedition was to transport British subjects and their slaves from Surinam to Jamaica.

also entered the Royal Navy, becoming in 1694 the commander of the *Newport*, a vessel of small size. Of his service little is known, but he wearied of waiting for recognition and returned to New England. Sewall describes how the North Church was much disturbed by an alarm from the Castle on July 26, 1696. "Nantasket Beacon began. Had order it seems on the sight of 2 great ships to fire it, because of the 2 who lately took Capt. Paxton." Two British frigates, sent to cruise to the Bay of Fundy, became engaged with two French ships of war of fifty guns, and after a short engagement and having his topmast shot away, Captain Paxton surrendered, his fellow captain, one Emes, escaping. Paxton's vessel was the *Newport Galley*, his consort was the *Sorlings*, and the object of the cruise was to intercept and surprise ammunition and supplies for the French, which were annually brought from France to the St. John's River and adjacent parts.¹ Paxton was again in Boston under a flag of truce in August bringing intelligence of the loss of Fort Pemaquid early in that month.²

Captain Paxton now left the navy and may have abandoned the sea, settling in Boston. He was a constable of the town in 1710; but beyond attracting the attention of the authorities in May, 1721, by having a negro servant down with the smallpox,³ his name is not found in the records. His life was not wholly without incident, for Sewall records on April 9, 1712, how "Capt. Paxton reviles Mr. Jonathan Belchar upon the Parade, calls him Rascal, many times, strikes him with his cane: Mr. Dudley upon his view fines him 5s. He carried it insolently, and said, He would do so again. Twas about Noon."⁴ In spite of such a temper he held some position, entertaining the Lieutenant Governor and going to meet William Dummer in 1716. Sewall's reference to "Madame Paxton and her daughter Gerrish" is explained by the marriage intention of Abigail Paxton of Boston, and Richard Gerrish of "Piscat-

¹ ² *Maine Hist. Coll.*, v. 439, 452. Williamson (I. 643) gives the name Paxen. An account of the sea fight is in Cal. State Papers, *Am. and West Indies*, 1696-1697, 224.

² Sewall, I. 431.

³ *Boston Records*, XIII. 81.

⁴ Sewall, II. 343.



(MS)

Charles Paxton
From a portrait in the Society
by an unknown artist



tiqua," February 21, 1718-19.¹ It is known that the wife of Captain Paxton was named Faith and that they had at least three children: Susanna, born June 27, 1702; Roger, born November 13, 1704; and Charles, born February 28, 1708² — the future customs commissioner. The Captain was of King's Chapel and on his death in 1736 he was buried in the Paxton tomb (No. 9) under that Chapel.³

One of the name and perhaps a connection, Nicholas Paxton, was in London, solicitor of the Treasury in 1731,⁴ and a correspondent of Governor Belcher. Young Charles Paxton early desired to enter the customs service and the Governor gave him his friendly support. Capt. Wentworth Paxton, now in greatly reduced circumstances, had been in London in 1732, seeking some office and approaching among others Admiral Charles Wager, but without success. Shortly after the father's return to Boston Belcher exerted influence for the son in a series of letters to public men in England. That to Wager stated:

This now waits on you per the hands of Mr. Charles Paxton, to whom you was so good when I had the honour to see you, at Whitehall as to procure him a commission to be Marshal of the Court of Vice Admiralty here, which was an act of great goodness and kindness in you, and which the father and son have often own'd with much gratitude. Since that, Sir, you will remember that Captain Paxton (the father) has waited on you at London, and per whom I had the honour of your lines, in which you expresst your inclination to serve this family if you had opportunity. You know Captain Paxton is advanc'd in years, and that notwithstanding his being an old officer in the navy, yet cou'd not obtain to be upon the half-pay list. But the place you was pleas'd to bestow on the young gentleman has been of late the main support of the family, for he is very good and dutifull to his parents. But his Marshal of Admiralty's place is hardly worth £40 sterling a year. Mr. Paxton would be glad of some other favour if it may be obtain'd, and therefore comes over on purpose to lay before the

¹ *Boston Records*, xxviii. 97.

² Sabine errs in giving 1704.

³ Foote, *Annals of King's Chapel*, II. 618. Hutchinson, *Diary and Letters*, II. 240.

⁴ *Maine Hist. Coll.*, XI. 125

Lords of the Treasury a representation of the reasonableness and necessity of a Custom House to be fixt at the port of Plimouth about forty miles from this town; and I think it would be so much for his Majesty's service as that I have given him my letters to Sir Robert Walpole and to the Commissioners of the Customs in this affair, and should heartily rejoyce that he might obtain a warrant to be Collector, Surveyor and Searcher of that port, in which, as I know you are very capable of serving him, so I am sure Sir Charles Wager's candour and humanity will naturally lead him to do good to those that are worthy and want it; and I think I may assure you, Sir, that this young gentleman will not dishonour any respect you show him, and I pray you would give me leave to hope for your countenance and assistance to him; and in case he succeeds in this matter he proposes to quit his Marshal's place in the court of Admiralty, as not consistent with his being a Custom House officer.¹

The prospect of getting the appointment seemed fair, for the Treasury officials said they would act upon the matter after investigating the conditions. Perhaps hope gave to so vague a statement a too favorable meaning, and Paxton wrote to Belcher of his "pleasing prospect of success." Belcher also interpreted it as more than likely with this result:

On the receipt of your Letter I sent for the Surveyor General, and desir'd him to write to the Commissioners of the Customs at London in Favour of an Officer to be fixt at Plymouth, and he answered me (I think a little too abruptly) that he would not concern himself at all in the Affair, and seem'd to be piqu'd that you was seeking it without his knowledge. So I said no more to him; I had mention'd this to you e'er now had you not hinted coming away with [Captain] Prince, but as you did not, this may perhaps find you still in London. So I inclose a Petition made to me from the principal Inhabitants of Plymouth, and wish it may do you any service.²

Nothing came of the Plymouth proposition. While the young man was in London banking upon promises of recog-

¹ November 3, 1733. 6 *Collections*, vi. 401. See also 400. In the Belcher MSS. are letters to Brian Fairfax, Thomas Coram, Francis Wilks, and his son, Jonathan Belcher, Jr.

² Belcher to Paxton, June 10, 1734. MS.

niton, the collector of customs at Rhode Island died, and Governor Belcher at once brought pressure to secure the succession to Paxton. It was a place worth £100 sterling a year, with perquisites additional. The death in Jamaica of Roger Paxton, the eldest of the sons of Wentworth, made it more desirable to secure an appointment. It was not Charles Paxton who received it and apart from his connection with King's Chapel, which doubtless was to his gain politically, as that was the center of the King's followers, nothing is known of his career until he became surveyor of the customs in the port of Boston in 1760 and a member of the Customs Commission of 1767, in which he attained such an undesirable reputation. Even the fact of his marriage is not known, though Capt. Nathaniel Cunningham, who married a Kilby, spoke of him as his brother-in-law.

The portrait of Charles Paxton, now reproduced for the first time, was given to the Society, September 24, 1835, by Peter Wainwright, Jr. It had once belonged to Wainwright's grandfather, Rev. Jonathan Mayhew. The artist is believed to have been Edward Truman, who is otherwise known only by a portrait of Governor Hutchinson, also in the Society and coming from the same source. The American Antiquarian Society has a portrait of Charles Paxton, marked "J. Cornish Pinxit, 1751," obtained from an unnamed lady in May, 1814. It is the only known work of this artist and being like that in this Society the latter may also have been painted by Cornish.

It only remains to note an incident in the life of Nicholas Paxton. A follower of Sir Robert Walpole, he was summoned before the Secret Committee of 1742, which was inquiring into the secret service money in the expectation of overthrowing Walpole's influence. Asked about £500 which he had given seven years before at Lord Limerick's election, he refused to answer, as the matter tended to accuse himself. Further, he was accountable only to the King, on whose warrants the money had been expended. The Committee complained to the House, and after a long debate Paxton was committed to the Sergeant-at-Arms, and still refusing, was sent to Newgate. It was shown that in

eleven years Paxton had received £94,000, unaccounted for. A bill was introduced into the House and passed by a vote of 251 to 228, indemnifying all persons who should accuse themselves of any crime, provided they but accused Lord Orford — Sir Robert Walpole, now Lord Orford. The measure was thrown out by the Lords, but Paxton lost his place of Solicitor to the Treasury. "I saw him the day after he came out of Newgate," wrote Horace Walpole in July, 1742; "he came to Chelsea: Lord Fitzwilliam was there, and in the height of zeal, took him about the neck and kissed him."

MY LORD: — When I left England I was much out of order and very low spirited but I soon found great benefit by the Sea air and drinking salt water and am now perfectly restored to my former good State of health. We had a pleasant passage and arriv'd at Boston the 5th Novr. and opened our Commission the 17th. great pains was taken before our arrival to raise a Disturbance but the better sort of people interposed and prevented it. The people are continually taught in the publick papers that they are not Oblig'd to Obey the laws of Great Brittan because they are not represented in parliament, and since the opposition to the Stamp Act there has been a general relaxation of the laws of trade. The Officers [are] no way to blame for they have no power to Enforce them The Authority of this Government has been found to be quite ineffectual and impotent The Government is as much in the hands of the people as it was in the time of the Stamp Act, and there is still not one single soldier within 250 Miles of Boston nor a Ship of War in any part of the Province. Unless the hands of Govert. are Strengthened I fear that the people wont easily be persuaded that Great Brittan is in earnest to Support her own laws. The plan already Adopted for the Support of Government independent of the people will contribute greatly to the Execution of the laws of trade. If the laws of trade are enforced in the Massachusetts Government the other Provinces will readily submit — Boston having always taken the lead in trade as well as in politicks. I have since my arrival Suffered the indignity of being burnt in Effigie.² what will be my fate I dont know if this letter should be made publick. I am from inclination as well as gratitude attached to Your Lordship in the strongest manner and if you did but know the infinite pleasure it would

¹ Walpole (Toynbee), I, 211, 257.

² *Proceedings*, IV. 270.

give me to have one line from you I am sure you would now and then indulge me. I have the honor to be with all possible respect and the warmest regard, My Lord, Your Most Faithfull and Affectionate Servt.

CHAS PAXTON

Boston 24 Feb 68

The Rt. Honbl. Lord Vist. Townshend

[Endorsed] Mr. Paxton dated 24th Febry. Recd. 12 July 1768.

MY LORD: — I did my self the honor to write you a long letter the 24th Feby and gave your Lordship an Acct. of the dislike the people of this town had taken to the new regulation in trade. they were mild at that time in their Objections, but now are very outrageous and declare that if the Acts upon their application to parliament are not repealed, they will put the Governor and the Commissioners of the Customs on board a Ship and send them to England The Merchants of the first Character in this place openly run whole Cargoes of Wines and Molasses &c in defiance of all Law and the Custom-house officers, and there is no power in this Government to prevent them. Tis the Opinion of wisest Men here that unless we have immediately three or four men of war and at least one Regiment every thing will be in the greatest confusion and disorder. I beg your Lordship will be pleased to present my very best and most respectfull Compl to my Lady and I have the honor to be with all possible respect and the warmest regard, My Lord, Your Most Faithfull and Affectionate

CHAS. PAXTON.

Boston 18 May 1768

The Rt. Honble Lord Vist. Townshend

[Endorsed] Mr. Paxton 18th. May Recd. 12. July 1768

MY LORD: — Your Lordship has done me great honor by your most Obliging letter of the 17 Feby from Dublin. I cannot avoid interesting my self in every thing which concerns your Lordship. I rejoice in the happy success of your Administration in Ireland. I do so likewise in the prosperity of your Domestick and family affairs, and I wish for no greater happiness in this world than to repeat the pleasure I received in that agreeable variety of delightful entertainments from the Several branches, old and young of your Lordship's family. But this is too much I fear, ever to fall to my lot again. It is not possible for me to forget my Obligations to my Dear deceased Patron.¹ If he had lived, the office

¹ Charles Townshend (1725-1767).

I owe to his favor would have been easy to me, his death has made it a most heavy burden, for I am very sure that if he had lived one of my Brethern Mr. Temple¹ would never have dared to set himself up in opposition to all the rest of us. To this we owe a great part of our misfortunes. He married whilst I was in England, into a family, with which he had been at variance. His wives father,² grand father,³ and uncle⁴ were of the Council. He did not like changing the place of Surveyor General, in which he had no body in America to controul him, for that of Commissioner where he had only one voice in five. He seems to have flattered himself that by raising a Clamor against the New Board, he should be able to demolish it and to Establish himself in his Old place. There is no accounting upon any other principle, for the conduct of his wives relations who one would think, should naturally support a constitution which gave him his bread, whereas instead of it they have been the most virulent enemies we have had in the Province, and his Father-in-law has been the chief promoter of all the severe injurious votes, resolves, messages, and remonstrances which have been continually making against us. Thus whilst we have been exposed to the rage of the populace, meerly for doing our duty with all the moderation which the disordered state of government requires, he has made himself popular and is cried up by the men who have been crying down all the rest of the King's Servants. His friends boast that his connexions in England will support him notwithstanding. They may be mistaken and it is impossible they should not be if Truth finally prevails. Hitherto he has had art and management enough to suppress it. I wish I could give your Lordship good grounds for more favourable sentiments of the people of America than what you entertain of the people of England. The Distemper is very contagious. Every man seems to think he ought to be at liberty to do what he pleases without any restraint from Law, especially from Acts of parliament. The merchants in this and the other Colonies seem to have taken all government into their hands and are combined or confederated to compel Parliament to do what they would have them and are perfect Tyrants over all who will not approve their measures. The Governor⁵ being recalled the

¹ John Temple (1732-1798), married Elizabeth Bowdoin, January 20, 1767.

² James Bowdoin (1726-1790).

³ John Erving (1690-1786).

⁴ James Pitts (1712?-1776) and Thomas Flucker (?-1783), both members of the Council, both married sisters of James Bowdoin.

⁵ Francis Bernard (1711?-1779).

Lieut-Governor¹ says he is left alone, all his council being of a different opinion from him, and his only aim is to preserve the province from tumults disorder and confusion untill the parliament shall provide for the Support of its own Authority over America, which he often says, all Parties must and will unite in, for the necessity of it is so apparent that no man can oppose it without exposing himself to the censure of the Body of the Nation, which has been treated in the most open manner with so much defiance and contempt I wish he may not be mistaken. I beg leave to Observe to your Lordship that the Colonies seem to be much divided. Some of them profess that the repeal of the last Duties on paper Glass and painters colours would be satisfactory, others, and this particularly, insist that all Revenue Acts shall be repealed or they will cease all importation.

I beg your Lordship would present my very best and most respectfull Compliments to Lady Townshend,² whom I intend by one of the next Ships humbly to thank for condescending to acquaint me with the State of your Lordships family, and Also to my Lady Dowager³ whose goodness to me far exceeded any claim which I could have, the utmost of which amounted to no more than a profound reverence for your Lordship and all related to you.

I have the honor to be with all possible respect, My Lord, Your Lordships most Faithfull and Affectionate

CHAS. PAXTON.

Boston 6 Novr. 1769

I have shewn all the civilities I was capable of to the Officers your Lordship recommended to me. Col. Pomeroy⁴ I hope is safe arriv'd in England and Genl. Mackay⁵ in England fully possess'd of the State of the Country

¹ Thomas Hutchinson (1711-1780).

² Charlotte, only surviving issue of James Compton, Earl of Northampton, in her own right Baroness de Ferrars, married December, 1751, died September 14, 1770.

³ Etheldreda or Audrey (married May 29, 1723, died March 9, 1788), daughter of Edward Harrison of Balls Park, Herts, Governor of Madras, 1711-1720. She was noted for her eccentricities. Jesse, *George Selwyn*, I. 160-1. Horace Walpole said she posed as a modern *Mater Gracchorum*. *The letters of Horace Walpole*, etc. (Toynbee) IV. 320.

⁴ John Pomeroy, colonel of the 64th regiment that had sailed from Boston in July, 1769. Viscount Townshend had been Colonel of the same regiment in 1759. *Army List* for 1770, 119, 224.

⁵ Alexander MacKay, at that time a brigadier and colonel of the 65th regiment. See Thomas Hutchinson's *The History of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, from 1749-1774*, etc., London, 1828, 242. Also *Diary and Letters of Thomas Hutchinson*, I. 340, and *Army List* for 1770, 120, 224.

I humbly beg your Lordship would now and then honor me with a letter for there is no person upon Earth I have that regard for except my sister.

[Endorsed] Mr. Paxton 6th. Novr. 1769 Received 31st. Decr.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM said: I take pleasure in presenting to the Society this manuscript "Receipt Booke" which is some 180 years old. It is a book of nearly two hundred pages, composed entirely of receipts for money and merchandise between the years 1740 and 1750, given to the firm of Jacob, John & Jacob Wendell, Boston merchants of that period. It contains the signatures of many well-known persons, as well as of others in varied walks of life.

There are many cases where sons sign and in each case write "for account of my father," as, "John Langdon for % of my father Edward Langdon," and "Geo. Cradock, Jr., on % of my father," and it is interesting to note an item in a newspaper of December, 1759, that "Geo. Cradock is appointed Collector of His Majesty's Customs for the Port of Boston and that the Custom House is removed to the house of John Wendell, Esq." There are sundry receipts of shipmasters for wages and disbursements, the same names occurring frequently, one of them, and a good signature too, being that of Aeneas Mackay, and another running through the book was the unusual and rather ominous name of Christopher Blackadder. On January 4, 1743, are the receipts of Jacob Sheafe, Collector, for the rates for the year 1742, of £58-7-4 against John Wendell, and £38-14 — against Jacob Wendell, Jr.

The signatures are of interest in themselves, and also in many cases show the amounts paid for vessels or for various parcels of merchandise.

The former ownership of the book is of interest, particularly to this Society, as it formed a part of the library of James Russell Lowell. After his death it became the property of his granddaughter, Esther Lowell Burnett, wife of my cousin, Stanley Cunningham, who gave the book to me, and is much pleased to know that I am passing it on to this Society.

Mr. FORD spoke of the gift from Miss Frances Bowers of a long series of letters, chiefly written by her father, Charles Bowers of Concord, and a few by other members of the family. The interesting features of this collection are that the letters are in themselves fine historical material, from men who could observe and describe well what they saw, and the condition of the letters, which are still folded in their original coverings. This latter point enables some idea to be formed of the system adopted in the war for treating letters from the army. While the regiment was in Washington the letters were franked by Senators and Representatives in Congress, and the names of S. C. Pomeroy, Henry Wilson, G. F. Bailey, and C. H. Van Wyck are found, no regard apparently being given to the particular State from which the regiment came. Then came the use of stamps and finally it was enough to write on the envelope "Soldier's Letter" to secure its free delivery. This collection numbers more than four hundred and extends through the war. Miss Bowers has kindly supplied the following note to place the writer and the family.

Charles Bowers was born in Concord, Massachusetts, April 26, 1812, of Revolutionary ancestry. He was always interested in military affairs and held a commission as Lieutenant and later as Captain in the First Regiment of Artillery for a number of years prior to April 11, 1842, when he resigned his commission as Captain. At the first call for volunteers in the Civil War, he enlisted in April, 1861, in the Fifth Massachusetts Regiment, for three months. At the expiration of this term of service he immediately went to work to recruit a company and in 1862 went to the front in command of it, viz; Company G. 32nd Massachusetts Regiment. He served until the close of the war in 1865, leaving at home a wife and five children, the youngest an infant in arms. His oldest son, William Bowers, twenty years old, enlisted with the "Minute Men of '61" and at the expiration of the three months' service joined the 44th Massachusetts Regiment.

His second son, Charles E. Bowers, eighteen years old, joined the volunteers in 1862 as Sergeant in his father's company, later being promoted to 2d and 1st Lieutenant. He was severely wounded in the Battle of Gettysburg and unable to return to the front, but recovered sufficiently to perform duty in guarding the Canadian border, having been transferred to the Massachusetts

Battalion of the 26th Regiment of Cavalry, New York. Although he lived a number of years after the war he always suffered from his wounds and died of blood-poisoning caused by them. He gave his life for his country as much as if he had died on the field of battle.

These three soldiers of one family, entered the Civil War from a noble sense of patriotic duty, willing to endure hardship, suffering, even death itself in their Country's cause.

Mr. FORD stated that three volumes of limited issue had been received from our Corresponding Member, Mr. William K. Bixby of St. Louis. They are of personal interest as recording his impressions and experiences in three journeys made in recent years, as follows: Note-book of a Journey to Japan, Korea and China in 1919, printed in an edition of sixty copies, and describing his agency in purchasing objects of art for the St. Louis Museum of Art; Note-book of Mediterranean Trip in 1921, also in an edition of sixty copies; and Memorandum of a Journey to India and Africa in 1921-22, richly illustrated with photographs and reproduced by photostat to the number of twelve copies, all bound in the skin of a lion shot by the party.

Mr. FORD also spoke of the medal or half-dollar to be issued for the Monroe Doctrine Centennial, Los Angeles, 1923, designed by Chester Beach. It was at first proposed to have only the head of James Monroe, but the historical truth was recognized by adding that of John Quincy Adams.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. NORCROSS, and SHATTUCK.

DALTON LETTERS, 1861-1865

The Dalton family have long been associated with Boston as is told by Professor Merriman in the *Proceedings* (XLII. 287). Dr. John Call Dalton (1795-1864) at the early age of twenty-three had been invited by Dr. Rufus Wyman to take his place in Chelmsford where he remained and practiced his profession until his removal first to Lowell and then to Boston. In 1822 he married Julia Ann, daugh-

ter of Noah Spalding of Chelmsford.¹ Four children survived, and the letters now printed concern them as follows:

John Call Dalton, Jr., born in Chelmsford, February 2, 1825; studied medicine at Harvard Medical School and after teaching in the University of Buffalo and Vermont College he became a professor in the College of Physicians and Surgeons, New York City, whence he entered the army in 1861 and remained in active service until his resignation in 1864.² He died February 12, 1889.

Charles Henry Dalton, born in Chelmsford, September 25, 1826, became a partner in the house of J. C. Howe & Company and held a prominent position in the cotton industry of New England. He acted as agent of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in Washington in 1861 and held appointments from Governor Andrew in the subsequent years of the war, without actual service in the field. The letters which follow were written to him and reflect his position of usefulness to his brothers and the general service. He died February 23, 1908.³

Edward Barry Dalton, born in Lowell, September 21, 1834, studied medicine at the College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York, graduating in 1858. On the outbreak of the war he volunteered and served until 1865. He later was Sanitary Superintendent in the Metropolitan Board of Health, New York City, but resigned in 1869 on account of failing health. He died in Santa Barbara, California, May 13, 1872.⁴

Henry Rogers Dalton, born October 12, 1839, was connected with J. C. Howe & Company at the beginning of the war, but followed his brothers into the army and remained in it from December, 1861, to November, 1864. He died September 10, 1914.

The story of service is told in the letters and requires but little comment beyond the notes based upon the personal recollections prepared by two of the brothers in later years. These notes are distinguished by the initials of the writers

¹ Green, Memorial of John C. Dalton, 1864.

² A volume of his war reminiscences was privately printed in 1892 by his brother, Charles H. Dalton.

³ Merriman, in *Proceedings*. ⁴ Memorial of Edward B. Dalton, 1872.

— J. C. D. and H. R. D. The "Pen" of the letters was Henry R. Dalton, whose notes of reminiscences have never been printed and exist only in typewritten form.

The originals of the letters have been given to the Society by Mr. Henry R. Dalton.

FROM JOHN C. DALTON, JR.¹

PHILADELPHIA, WILMINGTON AND BALTIMORE RAIL ROAD COMPANY.
PHILADELPHIA, Saturday, April 20, 1861.

DEAR CHARLES, — We arrived here this morning at 1 o'clock, and since then have found the news growing more complicated every hour. Now (11 1/4 A.M.) we have just learned that we are to move on at once. Gen. Butler² is here with the Massachusetts men who came on yesterday. I hope we shall be in time to save the Capitol or go to smash with it — but we have got to hurry, I expect. I am quite well myself so far, and have but few men sick. Your affectionate Brother,

JNO. C. D., JR.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, WASHINGTON CITY,
THURSDAY, April 26, 1861.

MY DEAR CHARLES, — Here we are at last, thank fortune and our legs, that brought us nearly the whole way from Annapolis to the junction of the Washington & Baltimore R. R. yesterday and last night. I sent you word from Philadelphia that we were about moving from there on Saturday though I did not then positively know the route we were to come. On arriving in Philadelphia from New York, about 1 1/2 o'clock on the morning of Saturday we found that the Baltimore crowd had been obstructing the passage of the Pennsylvania and Massachusetts troops. After the first scrimmage in which lives were lost, that part of both the Massachusetts and Pennsylvania forces had returned to Philadelphia being unable to get through, as many of them had gone unprovided with arms. The Philadelphia & Baltimore road were very unwilling to take us, and the Baltimore & Ohio Road posi-

¹ He had gone as Assistant Surgeon in the 7th Regiment of New York, of which Marshall Lefferts was colonel.

² In command of the Third Brigade, Second Division, M. V. M. composed of the Third, Fourth, Sixth and Eighth regiments. It was the Sixth regiment that was attacked by the mob in Baltimore on the 19th.

tively refused to do so. In addition, we found next morning that the railroad track and bridge just beyond Baltimore had been destroyed and were in possession of the mob. All this time we were hanging about the Pennsylvania Central Station House. Ben Butler with one of the Massachusetts Regiments was there too, trying to hit upon some plan for moving forward. I had lots to do in looking after the sick ones, who began to come pretty thick, as it was a hot and hungry morning, after a cold and hard night of railroading. Finally at 4 P.M. we went on board a Steamer (the *Boston*) and went down the Delaware, with the intention as it was understood to proceed direct to Washington by the Chesapeake and Potomac River. We got out to sea by 2 A.M. of Sunday, and down to Cape Henry and into the Chesapeake about 2 P.M. But when we came up to the mouth of the Potomac, about 10 P.M., we kept on, up the Chesapeake, instead of entering the river for Washington. This was a great disappointment, as the men were already impatient at the delay, and had confidently relied upon entering Washington on Monday morning. But it was thought that we should meet with batteries at the narrow parts of the Potomac River, and we were in no condition to contend with them, as our vessel was a common excursion steamboat, absolutely swarming with the men, among whom a single cannon shot would do fearful execution, beside probably sinking the boat, if followed by two or three others within a few minutes. As it afterward turned out, it was fortunate that we did not attempt the passage of the Potomac, for we found that Governor Letcher had in reality put up batteries on the river the day before. So we kept on up the bay, and at daylight on Monday morning, found ourselves off Annapolis, with the Old Frigate *Constitution* alongside, and another steamboat¹ something like ours aground in the harbor with Ben Butler again, and his men, on board. They looked like flies on a molasses board, they were so thick. General Ben. had done a mighty clever thing the day before, which was the means of getting him into the trouble. He came to Annapolis (by way of Havre de Grace and down the Chesapeake) on Saturday night, and found the *Constitution* lying near the Naval School Station and unable to get out, on account of her heavy guns, beside being short of men. The Secessionists were about to erect a battery on a height near the shore to drive out the U. S. forces and take possession of her, which they could easily have done, as she was unmanageable in that position. General Butler took out of her half her guns and lightened her so much that he could

¹ It was the *Maryland*, a ferryboat, seized at Perryville.

tow her out beyond the reach of the shore; which he did, and afterward sent 100 of his own men (able seamen from Marblehead and thereabouts) to fill up her crew. He saved the vessel by about twelve hours, and she has been lying ever since at the mouth of Annapolis Harbour, with a dozen very ugly looking great guns poking out of her sides, and four howitzers looking over her stern, to keep all Secession vessels out of the harbor and let all the U. S. vessels in—the *only* direct means of communication with the north which is now left available for transportation. We spent Monday in trying to pull General Butler and his boat load off the bar, where they had stuck from being weighted down with the *Constitution's* guns, and Monday evening went ashore at the Naval School where we were quartered.

They were mighty glad to see us there too, for they had been in almost daily fear of an attack for four or five days past, the boys mounting guard every night, and keeping ready to turn out at a minute's notice. All sorts of stories were told us here about the difficulties in our way—the citizens would not allow us to pass through the town, the Mayor was against us, Governor Hicks who lives in Annapolis formally protested against our landing (which was true), the railroad was torn up, there were Cavalry waiting for us at all the open places on the road and 10,000 ready to march from Baltimore to intercept us at the junction, the moment we started on the march. However on Wednesday we marched out of the Naval Station and started on our tramp, for everybody was raving by that time to get to Washington. There were no locomotives and no trains running on the road, but Butler had taken possession of the station house the day before, and in the yard had found two locomotives, taken to pieces and all lying in a heap. Several of his men were railroad mechanics, however, and one of them, on overhauling the pieces, found that the locomotive was actually one that he had helped to build, in Massachusetts some years ago. So he set to work and put it together and got up steam. Two or three old passenger cars were found and as many platform cars, so we had after all a train in our possession, not very handsome but very precious and big enough to carry the howitzers and baggage. We did not get off from Annapolis station till 10½ o'clock A.M. and pushed on marching on the railroad track with the train following slowly behind. But the day was a tremendously hot one, and after about an hour and a half, or two hours, the men began to drop from exhaustion. Some of the officers commenced giving out also, and then two or three of the men were sun-struck. One of them I thought would go for it, insensible for over an hour

and with pupils perfectly dilated. So after making about six miles, we came to a halt and waited till nightfall. The railroad track had been mended by advanced parties during the previous day and night, up to this point. But just beyond our halting place a bridge was torn down, and the track taken up every mile or two beyond that. However, we had a first class engineer in the 7th Regiment, and the bridge was built again in about three hours. At 8 P.M. we started for a night march of twelve miles to the Junction where we hoped to find cars and Government troops. We went on slowly, as we had to push two platform cars in advance with the howitzers, and one to pick up the disabled, and had to stop every little while to lay down rails where they had been torn up. So we worked our passage through till daylight, without meeting an enemy, and then sent a messenger on a hand car from the Junction to Washington for passenger cars to be sent up. They came about 9 o'clock, and at 12 o'clock we all arrived here, tremendously pleased you may be sure to get to the city in time to find the federal flag still on the Capitol flagstaff. We are now quartered in the Capitol Building, the regiment occupying the Representatives Hall and adjoining passages. I am splendidly quartered in a room just behind the Representatives Hall, and the other officers near by. The Massachusetts regiment is in the Senate Chamber and north end of the building. I am in capital health — better, I believe, than when I left New York. I found here your letter of the 20th as well as one from Father of same date, both of which you may depend, were excessively welcome. Love to Julia. Write often. Your affectionate brother,

J. C. D., JR.

Ned not gone yet, very well. C. H. D.¹

WASHINGTON, April 30th, '61.

DEAR CHARLES,—I wrote you last week immediately after arriving here. Hope you received the letter. Since that time we have remained quartered in the Capitol, getting along quite comfortably, especially since our luggage came along from Annapolis, a day or two ago, and clean shirts, etc. became a possibility. Other regiments have arrived since our own, all

¹ In pencil. Edward had resigned from St. Luke's Hospital staff, New York, and expected to be a surgeon in some city regiment. In connection with this letter should be read the papers printed in *Private and Official Correspondence of Gen. Benjamin F. Butler*, I. 22-34,

of them, so far, by way of Havre de Grace and Annapolis, except the 71st and the balance of the 7th from New York, who came up the Potomac. Ned, I expect, is with the Eighth New York Regiment, which we hear left New York some days ago and has been for two days past at Annapolis. At least I saw his name published in the *Commercial Advertiser* as Surgeon of the 8th. I want to see him very much, but do not feel a great deal of anxiety on his account, as the railroad from Annapolis here is now known to be altogether in the hands of the Government troops. I presume the 8th will not come to Washington until another arrival at that point, in order to keep it safe as a means of communication. Foster Swift,¹ I understand, is with Ned as assistant. The Capitol, as you can readily believe, presents a curious appearance. Our two brass howitzers look out from the landing of the main staircase. The Rotunda is occupied with the last Massachusetts arrival. Muskets stacked all round its walls, and piled in great heaps on long tables in the passage ways. Sentries at every gate and doorway, and at the main entrance two crossed bayonets keep out and in, every body that has not the right of passage. There are 3000 troops now in and around the Capitol building. The number of troops altogether now in Washington as nearly as I can get at it, is as follows:

7th Regt. N. Y.	1000
6th Regt. Mass.	630
8th Regt. Mass.	520
25th Regt. N. Y.	600
1 Rhode Island Reg't.	1000
2 Pennsylvania Reg'ts.	1600
Dist. Columbia Volunteers	3000
U. S. Regular Troops	600
71st Reg't. N. Y.	1100
12th Reg't. N. Y.	1200

 11,250

Of course I cannot get at all the figures exactly, but I think it certain that the force here now is more than 10,000 and less than 15,000. People talk very easily about 20 and 30 and 50,000 men; but the fact is such armies do not grow ready-made on the bushes, and are not *moved* to distant points without a great deal of labor. I presume the 8th and 69th Regiments now on their way will swell our numbers to the neighborhood of 15,000, and others will follow soon after; but at present the force is too

¹ 1833-1875. H. C. 1854. He was also in the New York College of Physicians and Surgeons.

small to secure the town completely, by occupying all the important approaches to it. Still the inhabitants and even the military men here seem to feel quite secure, comparatively speaking, since our arrival. It is plain that they had been in an awful scare for a week before, and with good reason too, for they were absolutely defenceless.

It was an impressive sight the other day when our Regiment took the oath. It was drawn up, on the green east of the Capitol, forming three sides of a hollow square, after having been reviewed by the President, with Mr. Seward and a few others, then by direction of Major McDowel¹ and a Magistrate of the District, a thousand men raised their hands together and in unison repeated the oath sentence by sentence, "I solemnly swear—to bear true allegiance and fidelity—to the Constitution and Laws of the United States—to maintain and defend them—to the best of my ability—against all their enemies and opposers whomsoever—and to obey promptly and faithfully—the orders of my superior officers—and of the President of the United States. So help me God." I expect we shall go into camp tomorrow or next day, perhaps on Georgetown heights or somewhere on the outskirts, of the town.

Who do you think I saw at the National Hotel, the first day of our arrival, when we went there to dinner? Mr. Kibby. Mr. K. expressed himself as desirous to get anything I wanted "*done right*." Also the next day at same hotel? Mr. *David Parker* (wasn't it?), the Shaker that sells brooms to you up at Manchester and admires your cow. The Junior Lessee of the National Hotel was also an old fellow medical student of mine at Boston—gone into the tavern-keeping business. I am quite well. No immediate expectation of an attack. Love to Julia and all. Yours,

J. C. D., JR.

WASHINGTON, May 1st, 1861.

DEAR CHARLES,—I have just received your letter from Albany of the 26th. Thank you heartily for all your kind offers of assistance which I knew you would be anxious to make. At present I do not require anything special tho' I may do so before our time is up. I brought with me money in gold in sufficient quantity to provide for any *probable* personal want. As soon as I need any more I will send to you or draw on J.

¹ Irvin McDowell (1818-1885).

C. Howe & Co., as you mention. Am very glad to hear about the arrangements for obtaining information from Washington you speak of. When you have anything to do with this affair in person, I *know* that your business talent and capacity for executive and planning operations both will be of the *very greatest* service, especially as you will know precisely the right place to use your powers to the best advantage. They are taking splendid care of us in New York. We have received four boxes of bandages, muslin and lint since our arrival here, also 1000 stockinet monkey jackets, also an ambulance from Brewster & Co., also lots of feed, also a quantity of "Farina" from Hecker & Co., and men to make it into gruel for the sick, also 1000 linen jackets and cap covers said to be coming. We now get the New York papers of the day before, or rather we have done so today and yesterday—ten cents apiece. A few days ago *New York Herald's* of a couple of days before were sold for twenty-five cts., fifty cts., and \$1.00. But it looks now as though communications would be free again before long.

At same time with your note this morning I received one from Ned of the 28th. Says he is on the track of a new regiment to be entirely under West Point officers. Am glad he did not take anything inferior, as there is no doubt he can have a good situation before long. I think the unexpected impetus and unanimity of the North will dampen the Southern ardor about taking Washington immediately. But at the same time I think it would be a very great mistake to trust any longer to anything but absolute physical force and material preparations actually on the spot and kept there. Even the military men here, I find, rely much on the improbability of the enemy advancing on the important points in the neighborhood without hearing about it long enough beforehand to make suitable preparations. Ground is being selected today, I understand, for our encampment, but we shall not leave the Capitol today at least. John Avery¹ came on with a detachment comprising the remainder of our Regiment who arrived day before yesterday. Your affectionate Brother,

J. C. D., JR.

CAMP CAMERON, MERIDIAN HEIGHTS,² WASHINGTON,
May 6th, [1861].

DEAR CHARLES,—You see we are in camp now (have been here for three days or four, I forget which) but not on George-

¹ 1830-1884. He was of Lowell, Mass., but died in Yonkers, New York.

² Where John Quincy Adams resided on retiring from the White House in 1829.

town Heights. Our location is about a mile north of the President's House (Georgetown, you know, is to the westward), on the road to Harper's Ferry. The camp occupies a plateau on the ridge of the heights, and we are quartered in the house belonging to the grounds. It is the most magnificent specimen of a country house I have ever entered. I send you a plan of it, with the location of the officers' quarters. It is a house that you would fairly go crazy after — unless you bought it, which you probably would do right away. It is about fifty feet front — the main body I mean — and remainder in proportion, rooms about fourteen feet high, the whole built on the most liberal scale, and in the best possible manner, but without the least approach to display, and hardly even to ornament, either inside or out. The grounds all about it are in the finest taste, and in perfect preservation, though the estate has been unoccupied as a dwelling-place for several years. My quarters are on the second floor, front room, directly over the Colonel. Hospital room directly opposite, on other side of entry — the two best rooms in the house. Major Anderson visited us at review this P.M. Was cheered heartily by the boys, and seemed to appreciate it very much. Was introduced to all of us officers afterward. I liked him exceedingly. We were reviewed by Colonel Mansfield,¹ of U. S. Army, the present Commandant of District of Columbia. Ned was here this morning. Came in the *Star of South*, not having succeeded in getting transferred to *Quaker City* on the passage, but was to leave immediately again, down the river on the *Pocahontas*, to catch the *Quaker City*, and got on board. Ned likes his appointment very much, and is in fine health and spirits. I get the *Times* from your people in New York every day, and very acceptable it is, you may be sure; though I don't like its yelping, fault-finding style any better than you do, still it's the liveliest and most readable paper we have. From what I have seen here I think that the post either of "Commissary" or "Quarter Master" would be the thing for you, if you desire a Regimental appointment. But I think you could engineer larger operations, than taking care of a regiment, in some way, with advantage. Yours,

JOHN.

All well.

¹ Joseph King Fenno Mansfield, of Connecticut, died 1862 of wounds received at the battle of Antietam.

FROM EDWARD B. DALTON.

WASHINGTON NAVY YARD, Wednesday Morning,
May 8, 1861.

DEAR CHARLES, — I have got this far toward my destination. Some time today I go to Fort Monroe, there to meet *Quaker City*. I like my appointment very much. I think I shall see more lively doings for the present at any rate, than if attached to a regiment, and it gives me a first-rate position. Had a tip-top time coming on, and have had good time in Washington. Have seen a good deal of John, who is fine in health and spirits. The City is full of military. We were met on our arrival by Lincoln himself. There is a great deal of talk here of immediate movements against the rebels, but nobody seems to know anything certain. [Foster] Swift I have not seen, he is at Annapolis. Barlow and I took supper together. He has been promoted to a lieutenancy.¹ Have you made any arrangement as yet? I found my acceptance by the Albany Board awaiting me here. Yours,
NED.

COLEMAN'S EUTAW HOUSE, BALTIMORE, May 10, 1861.

DEAR CHARLES, — I got tired of waiting for a government vessel at Washington, and made up my mind to come here, and get down to the Fort by ordinary boat if possible, as I heard that they had recommenced running a day or two since. I find it is so, and I leave here at 4.30 this P.M. You see how bothering it is to travel in these parts. No one at Washington, not even the War Department knew whether boats were running here or not. I came here by train yesterday P.M. The road is guarded all the way by small bodies of troops encamped close by the track at short distances, and at Relay House there is quite an extensive force. There all the luggage was taken off, inspected by military officers and then replaced. I looked about rather generally, and in the hotel was asked by a young gentleman to take a drink — which I thought I wouldn't do it. Whereupon pointing to my revolver, he hoped I would see everything before I got through, for which unexpected courtesy I was of course much obliged. There were a great many visitors about the station, I should think a hundred or more buggies and carriages.

¹ Francis Channing Barlow (1834-1896), enlisted as a private in the 12th N. Y. militia and became lieutenant on May 1.

Here it is perfectly quiet though it looks strange. I haven't seen a single "Stars and Stripes" anywhere, and I feel somehow kind of mad and bitter against everybody I meet in the street. At this hotel they are all right. The Chief Clerk is one of the old standbys at the St. Nicholas in the days when we used to disport there. I had a talk with him last night. He says that for a week after the fight they didn't dare say a word. He thinks this House will be Butler's headquarters within a week.

Night before last I was awakened at Willard's by a kicking at my door, and a bad smell in the room, and getting up, saw flames within a very disagreeably short distance of my window. We all cleared out, and the whole hotel would inevitably have gone if it hadn't been for the Fire Zouaves from New York. They pitched right in, ran and got ladders, water and all, worked the engines, and put the fire out without any help from the Washington fire-men, who in fact did not seem to know what to do. The people cheered tremendously to see the Zouaves go up the porticoes, spouts, etc., and tumble right into the windows of the building. When it became sure that the main body of hotel would be saved, a party of gentlemen ran up and out onto the roof and raised the "Stars and Stripes." It was a splendid sight. I reckon the Secessionists didn't like the look much. I left John yesterday first-rate.

NED.

U. S. STEAMSHIP *Quaker City*, Hampton Roads,
Off Fort Monroe, Va., May 29, 1861.

DEAR CHARLES,— Was right glad to get your note yesterday. Am glad to hear you've got a position so much to your mind. It must give you a splendid opportunity of seeing and knowing Everything that's going on. Hope you'll come down this way soon. I should think you would be likely to for things are moving here pretty lively. Lots of Massachusetts men here, many old acquaintances among them, especially in "Richardson Light Infantry" from Lowell. Sanborn¹ is here, Surgeon of a Vermont regiment. The day before yesterday were in company with the *Harriet Lane* and the *Star*. Convoyed a lot of transports to a point — Newport News, — some five miles above the fort, where a fine camp is being established. I like my place much.

The ship is ordered from place to place, and is assigned from time to time with a variety of duties, which is agreeable in itself, and also gives a chance for seeing what's going on. It also throws

¹ Eben Kimball Sanborn (1828-1862).

me among a good set of men. Glad to hear Swift is all right. Give love to him when you see him again.

The "Sacred Soil" is catching it now. . . .

E. B. DALTON.

U. S. S. *Quaker City*, Chesapeake Bay,
Monday, June 3rd, '61.

The prospect of my having a chance to run on and see you dwindles every day. We have much more to do, in helping on matters here, than we did a fortnight ago, and although no fighting of any consequence has yet taken place, of course we cannot tell the day it may come. At present and for the past week, everything has been quiet, only preparations steadily going forward, new points being secured from time to time. A week ago when the troops were landed at Newport News the people fled as if we were savages. They left even the food on the table. In one house an officer found hot coffee on the stove. An old slave woman was also left behind. She seemed highly gratified at the sudden change in affairs, and cooked for the men with the greatest good nature — only asked for "perfection." You may have seen something in the papers about the *Quaker City*, among other vessels, being fired into, etc. It is not so, not even a musket-ball has struck her side.

I heard from John the other day, but where he is now I don't know, as the "Seventh" were expecting to return to New York. John himself I have no doubt will remain connected with war matters. Barlow I have not heard from since I left Washington, though I keep watch of the movements of his regiment as much as possible. He is a lieutenant in the 12th N. Y. State Militia. There will be another 12th Regiment N. Y. Volunteers in the field soon. That is a different affair — composed of volunteers enlisted for three years. Whether the 12th N. Y. S. M. will enter for the war, or return at the end of their three months, I do not know. Barlow was hoping they would go in for the war. If they are brought into the field in active service, I am, with you, very much afraid for Barlow, for as we know, he is not only brave, but reckless. I think I never knew anyone so perfectly without fear of physical injury. He is an officer, too, in a real fighting regiment. His marriage was certainly very strange. He decided both as to going and as to being married first so suddenly that he had no time to invite friends. He was married, as you know, on Saturday, and marched on Sunday.¹ We will hope that

¹ Barlow married Arabella Griffith, who died July 24, 1864.

he will come home safe, and not anticipate trouble, for he is certainly a noble fellow. His family felt dreadfully about his going. I want very much to meet him again before any fighting commences. . . .

I hear that Mrs. Butler is in Fort Monroe. I shall try and see her, as soon as I can get on shore for a long enough time. Charles wrote me that he had seen Swift, and that he was first rate in health and spirits. He does not relish much the associations in which he was thrown—and in fact they were far from the best. Fort Monroe and its vicinity seem to be the great centre of importance now and I am in hopes we may all meet hereabouts before many weeks. . . .

Your affectionate Brother,

NED.

Excuse idiosyncrasies of penmanship but the *Quaker* is dancing in a very unquakerlike manner.

E. B. D.

Quaker City, OFF CAPE HENRY,
Monday Ev'g, July 1st, '61.

DEAR CHARLES,—Your short note came yesterday, followed by package of most acceptable clo' today. . . .

You ask me in your last note to tell you about our engagement. I tho't one would be enough to last you for a while. However the last, I must confess, was of rather a different character. You saw the main facts in the paper—our picking up a man in a little old skiff, etc.¹ Well, we stood in to shore as far as we could, and then Captain Mather² with a full armed crew was sent with our largest boat to land. They had gotten about two-thirds the way when we saw a body of Cavalry, some forty or fifty, break from the woods about $\frac{1}{4}$ mile higher up the beach. They came down on the dead run towards the spot to which our boat was steering. We immediately threw a 32-pd. shell at them, which behaved well. It dropped close by them as they passed, burst, unhorsed and apparently killed two of them, and seemed to wound others—at all events, they took at once to the edge of the woods and fired from behind the trees at our men. We continued to fire from the ship, at the spot where their rifles were popping, but whether we did any farther damage, of course we

¹ *Official Records*, 1 Navies, xv. 749. The incident occurred in Lynn Haven Bay.

² S. W. Mather.

could not tell. One cool fellow, though, would not give up. He rode straight on until opposite the boat, when he wheeled and faced it. Then he sat on his horse perfectly quiet, deserted by all the rest, regardless of the firing from our men in the boat and of a 32-pd. shot from the ship, which plowed up the sand not more than a rod from him. He deliberately aimed and fired six shots at the boat's crew, from some kind of a revolving arm, and one of his shots mortally wounded one poor blue-jacket. After this he joined the rest in the woods who continued to fire upon the boat as it came back to the ship. Of course it would have been folly to have persevered in trying to land. One poor fellow was shot nearly through just below the breast-bone. I got the ball out without trouble but he lived only about four hours, and died without rallying.¹ They must have had fine arms, apparently revolving rifles, for some of their shots nearly reached the ship.

The next day we had a little scrimmage with a battery, masked by the woods, not far from the same place. Their guns, however, were not so heavy as ours, and so we had it all our own way. We had no means of judging what we accomplished except that our shot struck right where the smoke of their cannon rose, while none of theirs reached us. Since then we have kept strict guard throughout the ship each night, for they have been very dark, and we were just a little suspicious of a night surprise from the land by boats. Saturday night there was suddenly a cry from the port quarter, of "Boat ahoy." It was not long before rifles and pikes were on hand. "We are in distress. Can we come on board?" came from the darkness. They were told to come along side and a light was lowered, which showed a small boat with seven drenched and haggard men in it, who gave three good cheers for the Stars and Stripes. They were taken on board and proved to be Northern men escaped from North Carolina in a dug-out, in which they had come the whole distance. They were a very intelligent set — mechanics most of them — one a dentist. So you see we've been pretty busy. The *Santee*, a splendid 50-gun Ship arrived today from Portsmouth, N. H. Nothing further of interest hereabouts. On land all is quiet. The *Star*² had a scrimmage the day before ours, and their Surgeon "Smith," a nice fellow from "Bellevue," was shot thro' the face. He is getting well. How is Pen? Good-bye and Good luck. Yours,

NED.

¹ James Loyd.

² Later the *Monticello*?

Quaker City, HAMPTON ROADS,
July 10th, 1861.

DEAR CHARLES, — Thank you for following up my affair so sharply. This last move with Dr. Whelan will I reckon, fix it right. I anticipate no difficulty as regards the Fleet Surgeon, whom I shall have an opportunity of communicating with today. Captain Fox's irrelevant statement that the owners would become liable to action for damages if they remove or suffer to leave any of the officers furnished by them and found upon her by Government at the time of original charter, is not at all to the point, inasmuch as I was not of that number. Captain Wilson,¹ agent of owners on board, urges me to stay, says that owners will do whatever is right and liberal and has written them enclosing copies of Capt. F's letter and of your conversation with him. He says, however, and I think with some reason, that although the owners should appoint me surgeon of their ship, he does not see how that will free the Department from the propriety of paying me for attending upon the U. S. officers and men whom they have placed on board and with whom the owners have nothing to do.

I shall write you at once I hear from either party. Until then I shall think no more of any other appointment. I have no desire to enter the Navy permanently. I have seen eno' to show me that I happened to drop on a remarkably soft spot when I came on board *Quaker City*. Her duty has been a great deal more active and entertaining than that of any other vessel hereabouts, and the general style in which things are conducted on board her is far more to my taste than on others that I have visited. And at any rate I shall have had enough of cruising about in this way when her charter is up.

We are getting on first-rate. Have just taken a prize this morning and are now taking her up to Roads, a Richmond ship, from Rio, loaded with coffee.

We heard of wrecks down along the coast to the southward, from which people were seen removing goods. Yesterday we went down some twenty miles, found five wrecks of vessels which had been beached, but there were neither men nor goods on board.

Never mind about sending the \$20.00. I don't want it.

Captain Carr² has this moment come into saloon where I am

¹ Thomas W. Wilson. Under the charter party the owners ran, manned, repaired and furnished the vessel with supplies and the Navy Department supplied the commanding officer. *Official Records* 1 Navies, v. 696.

² Overton Carr, commanding the *Quaker City*.

writing. Asks if I am writing to you. Sends his best regards, and wishes that you may find time and inclination to take a little recreation with us, off the Capes here. Why don't you make it in your way to come to Fort again?

General Butler seems to be growing in disfavor. Beside the constant complaints among the volunteers, the regular officers of both Army and Navy seem to dislike him very decidedly.

Good bye and Good luck. Yours,

NED.

Quaker City, HAMPTON ROADS,
July 23d, 1861.

DEAR CHARLES, — What glorious news it is. Bulls Run taken — and taken by sheer courage too. Our New York regiments have suffered terribly though, but they did their work like men, didn't they? Yesterday's *Herald* is the last I've seen — that is Monday's. Among the regiments which lost most men I see the 8th N. Y. S. T., and I am anxious to see the particulars. This you know, is [*illigible*] regiment. Barlow too is among McDowell's force, 12th N. Y. S. T. Old Massachusetts did nobly on Thursday. If they go on this way they'll soon be upon Richmond. Then let Jeff. Davis look sharp. Doesn't it make you want to be among them? How well the whole thing seems to have been conducted. General McDowell evidently knows his business, and means to make no halfway work. Look at the charges of the 69th and of the Fire Zouaves.¹ I see on the list the names of two acquaintances Lieut. Col. Nugent of the 69th killed,² and Col. Martin,³ of the 71st wounded. I suppose, however, that these first returns may not be reliable.

As you see we are lying in the Roads today. Came up from outside yesterday, and lucky we did. It came on to blow in the afternoon, and soon to rain, and by night and through the night there has been a pretty sharp gale. The Commodore ordered us to stay up until it was over. . . .

As for us down here nothing out of the common course — no prizes, no pirates, no nothing. A newspaper is the greatest excitement we look for. These we always get of the day before

¹ The Fire Zouaves was the 11th Infantry, under Lieut. Col. Noah L. Farnham.

² Robert Nugent, born in Ireland, was wounded at Bull Run and honorably mustered out, but returned and attained the rank of Brigadier General, dying in 1901. The 69th was Michael Corcoran's regiment.

³ Henry P. Martin.

whenever we run up. We have by orders of Commodore, kept a bright lookout lately o' nights, expecting the *Yorktown*.¹ She is now ready for sea and is gotten up in pretty formidable style for a ship of her class. You may remember she was seized long ago by the rebels at Richmond, and she is still there. She is about same size and build as *Quaker City*, and fully equal in speed. She has been clad with iron, machinery and all, fitted with a heavy armament, and fully officered and manned — officers formerly of U. S. N. It is supposed she will try to run the blockade and get out to sea. She'll have a warm time of it. The frigate *Minnesota* is ready to slip her cable and attack at any moment. Our orders are to keep steam up all the time, keep constant and sharp watch up towards Roads especially when the night is dark or stormy, and at the first gun or rocket place ourselves in the channel, and if by any chance the *Yorktown* should escape destruction or capture by the frigate and come down, to run upon her with full force — not to fight her with our guns, for she is far superior in that way, but to rely entirely upon the strength of our ship, and the skill of the blow, which should of course be made direct upon her broadside just abaft amidships. All our five guns have been moved forward, so as if necessary, to combine one volley from them with the force of the collision. As you see it will be pretty sharp practice to accomplish this, if it ever comes — but I doubt very much if the *Yorktown* ever gets by the *Minnesota*. If at all, she will try it in the noise and confusion of a stormy night, but it would be a desperate thing for them. I wouldn't give much for their chance. My own personal affairs are all right. The owners replied favorably at once. I am still, however, expecting to hear from the Fleet Surgeon, whom I have seen once, and who had made my application. I shall write you again in day or two. Write me a line. Say what you are doing etc. Good luck. Yours,

E. B. DALTON.

Quaker City, OFF CAPE HENRY,
Monday, 28 July, 1861.

DEAR CHARLES, — I got your letter just as we were leaving the Fort to come down here on Saturday. Captain Carr has just told me that he is going up again today for an hour or two.

Sally has written me glowing accounts of the Wachusett trip.

¹ Better known as the *Merrimac*. Her first name was the *Virginia*.

Wish I'd a been there. At the fort here everybody is blue about the repulse, but still not discouraged. I'm sure I can see no reason for being so. We've got the worst of it this time, but that's nothing, so far as the result is concerned. We are not whipped and never shall be. Swift was himself to the last. He never would desert a man in trouble, and nothing can make him do it. If he don't have a welcome when he comes back, it'll be because we don't know how to give him one. I hope he will be exchanged. What do you think of the prospect? His father — the Old General — is General Scott's most intimate personal friend. The old man will rejoice at what Foster has done. He is a regular old soldier to the back bone. I am expecting to hear every day from James Swift. I have no doubt Foster will meet former professional friends among the rebels. Washington must have looked glum enough when you first arrived. You must be having an active time of it. Wish I could be along with you for a while. I have written to John asking what the outlook is in New York for a regimental appointment. I'm glad to hear his appointment is probably a sure thing. This present charter of the *Quaker City* will be up in four weeks, tho' the Government can prolong it if it chooses. I have no intention of remaining myself after that time. There is no trouble about my compensation. The owners are all right. Pen writes me dolorously about missing his lieutenancy. Shall you have him along with you any more? I am very glad that Cobb's Artillery are likely soon to be in the field. Butler's command is pretty well reduced by the loss of the four regiments left for Washington on Friday. The lines are drawing in towards the fort. I hope this dissatisfaction about men and the management of affairs will be straightened out soon.

Saturday P.M. three Boston steamers passed us off the Capes — two bound for Washington with the Tenth Regiment and the third *Jos. Whitney* apparently empty, for the Fortress. . . .

EDW. B. DALTON.

[July or August, 1861.¹]

I do not intend to leave the vessel. She has no other surgeon and, as has been amply shown, she must have one. Those on board wish me to stay, and have always treated me in a way that makes me most loth to leave her. In fact I think, if I can do so

¹ First pages of letter missing.

without too great a sacrifice, that I ought to stay. And so I intend to do, acknowledgment or no acknowledgment. But I do consider that I am no longer bound by any other than the claims of professional duty and humanity, either to stay by the ship another day, or to take care of her crew. This, as I say, I shall do. But when it comes to making records, certificates, etc., this, after a proper time has passed for setting the thing right, I shall respectfully decline to continue. The result of the Fleet Surgeon's application I shall probably know in a day or two. Meantime I do not see anything you can do for me—unless you see fit to state the case to Captain Fox, as I have given it to you. Remember that the owners neither had a surgeon, nor furnished one. Nor do they consider their men as under my charge excepting as they may be injured in the chances of war. Of course, you know, I do take care of them if need be, but that is a personal matter. Aside from this red-tape business, which I am heartily sick of it, my intentions, so far as the uncertainty of things will warrant, are these. I mean to see the cruise of the *Quaker City* through. Then I shall take time to consider, look round, and be guided by the look of things then. Probably a regimental appointment would be what I should then prefer. My engagement certainly influences much the way I look upon the whole matter. Especially does it increase my eagerness to get at the work in New York. At the same time I cannot say that it would materially alter my immediate plans if I still saw next Fall the great necessity for proper medical service among the volunteers that there is such a lack of now. However we do not know what Congress may do, nor in fact anything else. So it's hardly worth while looking so far ahead. Glad to hear Pen is enjoying himself.

We can distinctly see a large fire at or near the Fort, but what it is we cannot make out. Splendid comet too right over our starboard bow. . . .

E. B. DALTON.

Quaker City, OFF CAPE HENRY,
Thursday, 8 August, [1861].

DEAR CHARLES,—Ned Browne brought me your note. He seemed to have had a good time of it in Washington and to feel much indebted to you for showing him round. He took a cruise with us, went on board the *S. R. Spaulding* as she passed, and is before this in Boston. I met Mr. Lee also and liked him, but did not see much of him as he was away the day I was on board the *S. R. S.* I think you are entirely right about Pen, and have

written to him to that effect. Still I know very well just how he feels, and am not at all surprized, as of course you are not, that he feels very disappointed. I suppose it is anything but a source of contentment to him, that all the rest of us are into it, and he alone with just as much spirit, not so. I hope something will turn up for him, and I guess that amongst us we can fetch it. How would something on shipboard do? I should think it might be the thing — at any rate for a while.

It is quite probable that Capt. Mather, whom you recollect as Acting Master here — stout, light hair — may get command of one of the new vessels going into commission. If so, very likely I could get him to take Pen as Captain's clerk, or perhaps acting purser. How would that suit? No hard work, and rather a healthy berth than otherwise, if he is sent South. Hereabouts the winter weather will be rather severe. Mather, who is an old shipmaster of J. M. Forbes, had command of this vessel the first month. He is an energetic, bright man — and in spite of his roughness, is a right kind-hearted fellow — good antecedents, and honest and straight-forward in character as possible. He wants me to go with him if he gets a command. Of course there would be no inducement in my line — but if I was going to sea again at all, I would go with him in a minute. Should infinitely prefer it to regular Navy. He will look out sharp for active service too. I tell you, Charles, we want more such men in this business — men that will put some life and reality into this ridiculous farce of blockade. We want them in command of ships too, not rendered inefficient by being tucked under the thumb of men who perhaps are not half the sailors they are, and who are encrusted over with the red-tapeism and indolent routine of the Navy. To do him justice the *Quaker City* has never been half so effective as when under the command of Mather.

I tell you it is disgusting, the accounts we get from the coast below. The other day we picked up a sail-boat with ten men in it. Four of them were captains of northern merchantmen who had either been captured, or wrecked and plundered on the coast of Carolina. Two of them had been taken by privateers and after being stripped of everything of value, allowed to put to sea in this small boat. They told us that there were four privateers, three steamers and a pilot boat, armed and constantly at work along the coast by Albermarle Sound and Hatteras inlet — and boldly too — one of the ships having been taken one hundred miles east of Cape Hatteras. There is constant water communication between Norfolk and the Sound by means of the canal — through which one of the steamers and the pilot boat

had been taken down. We have accounts that there are now nearly ready at Norfolk ten more boats armed and manned, to be taken out in the same way. Isn't it too bad? And what do we do? Send down, now and then, a great lumbering frigate drawing twenty odd feet of water, with five or six hundred men, and a quantity of officers to stand on her quarter deck and look through their glasses at the rebels at work, running in and out in perfect safety, unmolested by a single shot. Is it to be wondered at that they get saucy, and do as they did the other day, when one of them, the *Petrel*, ran right under the stern of the *St. Lawrence*, and before they were aware of her true character sent a charge of grape spanging right at her group of officers. Then one shot from the frigate sunk her—but had her own aim been a little lower hardly an officer would have been left to tell the tale. And here is the *Quaker City* too, a swift, staunch vessel drawing but little water, and acknowledged by all to be even now the most efficient vessel on the coast, and yet left not half prepared to defend herself in case of attack. We hear these stories every day and have them confirmed from time to time by the very victims themselves—and here lying at Hampton Roads, safe under the guns of the Fort, are the *Minnesota*, *Wabash*, *Savanna* and the *Dale*—four men-of-war, besides several smaller craft. I do hope that before long we shall see a good fleet of staunch light-draught vessels down the coast, manned and officered by fresh, energetic men. Among the men we picked up were the captain¹ of brig *B. T. Martin* captured one hundred miles east of Cape Hatteras, by privateer schooner, formerly Chesapeake pilot boat, *York*, was afterwards chased by U. S. gun boat *Union* and was run on shore at Cape Hatteras by the prize crew, on July 23d.

Captain² of *Lydia Francis*, wrecked 6th May. Captain Penny³ and crew of barque *Linwood* of Baltimore, from Rio bound to New Orleans with 6500 bags coffee, warned away by *Brooklyn* and afterwards wrecked on Cape Hatteras and plundered 16th July.

Captain of schr. *Chase*, captured 25th July off Ocracock by steam privateer *Marion* or *Mariner*.⁴

They say that Newbern, No. Ca., is headquarters, and that there are now there brig *W. H. McGilvery* of Bangor, captured

¹ C. A. French.

² Daniel A. Campbell, of Damariscotta, Me.

³ Henry W. Penny, of Greenport, N. Y.

⁴ *Mariner* was the name. She was formerly a Wilmington tugboat.

on 28th July, by steam privateer *Gordon* off Cape Hatteras. Was from Cardenas, bound to Boston, cargo of Molasses.

Schr. *Protection* from Cuba, with fruit captured off Hatteras Inlet, on 26th July, by steamer *Gordon*. Barque *Glen* of Portland with government coal for Key West, captured some two weeks since and taken to Beaufort.

These are the privateers, in that quarter:

Side wheel Steamers *Jos. E. Coffee* formerly plying between Norfolk and Old Point Comfort, and the *Gordon* which ran the blockade at Charleston, and subsequently came up the coast, and has captured several vessels.

Steam-propeller *Marion* or *Mariner* and sch. formerly pilot boat *York*. All these are armed with rifle cannon.

At Newbern crews for the ten new gunboats now ready as privateers at Norfolk were being enlisted. They are destined for Albermarle and Pamlico Sounds.

Heavy batteries were being erected at Hatteras and Oregon Inlets.

So you see how much they are accomplishing in spite of the so-called blockade. I don't know as you care particularly for these details, but they are the latest, and apparently the most reliable. . . .

NED.

NEW YORK, 4th Oct., '61.

DEAR CHARLES, — Have just rec'd your order for the \$300.00. I was much in need of it, in consequence of there being delay in receiving my pay for three months on the *Quaker City*. Haigins Bro., the former owners, are all right, and were perfectly ready to settle at once, but said that if I were willing to let the matter rest in their hands for few weeks, they could induce the Navy Department to add to the salary due me from them, on the plea that much of my professional services had been devoted to naval officers and men. This they said they could do with better prospect of success before than after making their own settlement with me. I have no idea the Department will allow me a dollar, but I thought it best to leave it for the present as they suggested.

I hear from Col. Warren¹ from Baltimore that he makes application to Governor Morgan to detail me to his regiment. Nothing more definite yet. Will write you as soon as there is. I mean now to go to Claymont for a day or two early next week —

¹ Gouverneur Kemble Warren, of the 5th N. Y.

Monday or Tuesday. I have had no letter from John. Mrs. Flint had one this morning which I read. He is in Washington, but not assigned to any brigade. Dined with Dr. Peters yesterday. . . .

NED.

FROM JOHN C. DALTON, JR.¹

WASHINGTON, Sunday, Oct. 6, [1861].

DEAR CHARLES, —I've been spending the week here in getting practical experience of the way they don't do business at the Government offices. Impressed on my mind more particularly now, because I have been waiting since Tuesday at Willard's Hotel to get my orders to join General Viele's² Brigade, which has been for some time stationed about a mile and a half east of the Capitol. Today I find that Viele and his Brigade have gone to Annapolis yesterday and I have only got the promise of having my papers made out and ready for me tomorrow by going to the Medical Director's office for the third time (and that on Sunday) to stir them up about it. I have felt a delicacy heretofore about "stirring up" a respectable Government official about his own business, when he tells me it shall be attended to — but I don't think I shall feel it any more. At any rate, I feel pretty sure of getting my papers tomorrow morning and getting on to Annapolis the same day, and, if Viele has not gone from there to Fort Monroe or somewhere else, of joining him at last. He has, I find, a fine brigade, of 5 regiments — three New York, one Maine, and one New Hampshire. The Division to which the brigade belongs was General Sherman's, but it is said now that Gen. S. is to take command of the Department of Kentucky.

I hoped to have got the run of the whole Brigade before this, so that I could tell something about the Quarter master's place, but I can't do so until I have actually been with the command for a day or two at least. As soon as I can learn anything definite in regard to it I will write you. While waiting here I have spent the last two days in going through some of the Camps on the other side of the river, between Chain Bridge and Arlington, with Dr. Jenkins. The best regiment I have seen here yet is the 18th Mass.³ Major Hayes⁴ is in it — who knows you, I believe, or Ned. . . .

JNO. C. D., JR.

¹ Now a Brigade Surgeon, confirmed by the Senate August 3.

² Egbert Ludovickus Viele (1825-1902).

³ James Barnes, Colonel, of Springfield. ⁴ Joseph Hayes of Boston.

ANNAPOLIS, Saturday evening, Oct. 19, [1861].

DEAR CHARLES, — I received yours of 16th and was glad to get it. I hardly thought you would get here before we sailed, tho' should have liked it much if I could have seen you. We're all ready now. The entire column on board, 15 Regiments and Hamilton's¹ (formerly Sherman's) Battery.² Generals Viele, Wright,³ and Stevens⁴ command the Brigades, and General Sherman the Division. It will be a splendid sight in the bay tomorrow if we don't have as much fog as we had today, seventeen sea-going Steamers, all with troops and material on board — the *Baltic*, *Atlantic*, *Ericsson*, *Vanderbilt*, *Belvidere*, *Philadelphia*, *Roanoke*, *Parkersburg*, *Ocean Queen*, *Illinois*, *Ariel*, *Empire City*, and five others whose names I don't know, or who haven't any names. We (Viele and staff) go on the *Empire City*, a good boat to all appearance, roomy and strong, with a first class looking Massachusetts man for captain. We shall find, I suppose, some war steamers at Fortress Monroe to go along with us, and help us land on the sand beach somewhere. One of the regiments (Serrell's⁵ Engineers) I understand is already at the fort and will join us there. All our regiments are not good, but some of them are, and enough I guess, to do a good piece of work, if our officers don't get disabled. I've an idea that this particular expedition does not comprise *all* that the government is at just now, but that other movements are to follow, in connection with it, if it has success at first. You will find a letter for you when you get to Washington (at Willard's) asking you to bring me some money, if you should come here, before we leave, as that I find is more useful to have about one than anything else. But it's no great matter. I still have enough for present needs, and I shall be able to draw pay in about ten days. . . .

JNO. C. D., JR.

¹ 3d. U. S. Artillery, Battery E. Capt. John Hamilton.

² Thomas West Sherman, of Rhode Island (1813-1879). The story of this expedition is told in 1 *Official Records*, VI. 168.

³ Horatio Gouverneur Wright, of Connecticut (1820-1899).

⁴ Isaac Ingalls Stevens, of Massachusetts (1818-1862).

⁵ Edward Wellman Serrell, of English birth, lieutenant colonel of the 1 N. Y. Engineers.

St. *Oriental*, OFF FORT MONROE, HAMPTON ROADS,
Friday Evening, Oct. 25th, [1861].

DEAR CHARLES,—We came down the bay from Annapolis on Monday [21st], after getting embarked on Sunday, and have been lying here since Tuesday, counselling and coaling, and making (today) sham debarkations, for practice. I have no doubt we shall sail early tomorrow morning. Can't guess any better where we're going than I could a week ago. Think I know *sure*, about once a day, and then think I don't. Steamed up the roads toward James River this P.M. and had a glimpse of the Pirate's Camp at Sewall's Point. We, (Gen'l Viele and staff) were transferred from the *Empire City* to this steamer (*Oriental*) this P.M. but I am not sure we shall stay here. May go back to *Empire City*. However, I believe there's no question about our sailing tomorrow morning. Send letters to me, when you write, to care of Col. Tompkins, Quartermaster, U. S. Army, No. 6 State Street, New York. Thus — Brigade Surgeon Jno. C. Dalton, Jr., Viele's Brigade, Expeditionary Corps, Care of Col. Tompkins, etc. . . .

JOHN.

Saturday morning. We shall continue on board the *Oriental*. Nice boat, entire state cabin in possession of staff. Only three or four German Companies on board beside ourselves. We have nineteen armed vessels going with us, including the *Wabash* flag ship,¹ which is the largest. I believe we are to have a little over thirty transports, of all sizes. Yours,

JOHN.

Steamer Oriental, HILTON'S HEAD, PORT ROYAL,
Entrance, So. Ca., Thursday, November 7, [1861].

DEAR CHARLES,—Hurrah! Here we are this good Thursday afternoon, after ten days of knocking about at sea and waiting in the offing, beside a week of bother and expectation at Fortress Monroe before we left the Roads. We engaged the rebel batteries here in earnest this morning at ten o'clock A.M. and at $\frac{1}{4}$ before 3 P.M. the American Flag was run up over what was beforehand a — Pirates hole and made a respectable place of it. Now ($5\frac{1}{2}$ P.M.) the whole fleet is at anchor at Hilton's Head, where the strongest battery, of 14 guns, was situated, and the troops are now disembarking. I have not yet been able to

¹ Samuel Francis DuPont was in command.

learn what our losses were, as the *Oriental* has been at anchor at the beach but a few moments, but the *Wabash* (flag ship) I could see had received no damage to her standing rigging nor any appearance of injury about her hull. The action was fought by the *Wabash*, *Susquehanna*, *Seminole* and five or six gunboats, while the transports waited behind and looked on just out of range. I watched it all from the fore topsail yard, and saw every flash. Hilton's Head is a point to the south of the channel and had, as I mentioned, the strongest battery; just opposite is another point which had a battery of eleven guns, behind a breastwork; on Hilton's head, the works proved a large and highly finished redoubt. The *Wabash* sailed up the channel to the right engaging the northern battery while passing, and then, after making a circuit came down again on the left, pitching hard into the fort on Hilton's head. She repeated this operation twice. Meantime three or four vessels of war ran up the channels leading to the interior to keep at bay the rebel steamers from Charleston and Savannah, who had been firing at us day before yesterday, and watching us ever since, while the remainder of the gunboats took position to rake the Hilton's head battery up and down. The battery replied with great rapidity at first and even after the *Wabash* had passed it twice worked four guns with great effect. But about two o'clock I noticed their firing less brisk, and half an hour afterwards had ceased. A boat with white flag at stem and American flag at stern then went off to shore from the *Wabash*, ran onto the beach without finding anybody to receive it. The flag then went along the silent parapet of the fort toward some barracks, and a big brown country house at its right where the rebel flag was flying yesterday, and in a few minutes the Stars and Stripes (very large pattern) ran up upon its top. 'Twas the finest sight, I can tell you, I have seen for many months. I suppose we shall go on shore tonight, though the movements of the First Brigade are as yet somewhat uncertain. But I hope to get this off to you in the despatch-boat tomorrow morning. We have lost the steamboats *Governor* and *Peerless* on the passage down, in a gale on Friday night when it blew great guns from the eastward. And I am afraid the *Belvidere* has gone down too with my little stallion on board, tho' there are reports that she was seen on Saturday.¹ The *Oriental* is a splendid sea boat and was not damaged at all.

Love to all. Write as before. Your affectionate brother,

JOHN.

¹ She put back to Hampton Roads, throwing some of the horses overboard.

Friday m'g, Nov. 8th, [1861].

DEAR CHARLES,—We've not yet gone ashore from the *Oriental*, though five or six thousand troops are landed, and I expect all of the 2d and 3d Brigades (General Wright's and General Stevens') will go at once if they are not there already. The idea of the expedition was not to take any of the large Southern cities—for the present, at least. But it had come to be pretty plain to the government that, to keep up the blockade in an effective manner through the winter, they *must* have a few harbors, where the blockading vessels could be easily supplied with stores and coal, without coming all the way home for it, and where they could run, in case of the wind blowing too hard to be safe. This harbor, of Port Royal, is one of the finest, if not the very best on the southern coast. They say it ranks with Charleston harbor about as Newport, R. I., does with that of New York. It's only accidental reasons that have made one the commercial capital of this part of the country rather than the other. At any rate it's a splendid harbor capable (so the *Coast Pilot* says) of riding the largest navy in the world. We are anchored, with the *Wabash* and all the other big vessels in a crowd, right on the shore almost, and in perfect security in five or six fathoms of water. Our success too is more gratifying than I thought it to be yesterday. The work on Hilton Head, which was the one principally engaged yesterday, is a complete fortification which was the first one built on the coast immediately after the capture of Sumter. It's not only extensive and strong, with its parapets revetted all over with sods, and as smooth and regular as you would wish, but contains 15 Columbiads (best quality) many of them 11 inches, and mounted on the *inland side of the fort as well as the water side*. Only three were dismounted yesterday—the rest are all perfect—the rebels left, at last, in such haste *that not a gun was spiked*, and all their tents and camp equipage and many muskets were also left behind. The fort is fully supplied with shot, shell and ammunition. As soon as this work on Hilton Head was surrendered yesterday, the enemy abandoned the other one on "Bay Point" on the north side of the channel, and the flag is floating this morning all round us.

The *Ocean Express*, too, a ship which had nearly all the heavy ordnance and ammunition belonging to the expedition, and which we were almost sure had been lost in the gale, came in yesterday all safe, *nine* days out from Hampton Roads! No signs of the

Belvidere yet. The *Wabash* had only a few scratches. None of the war vessels destroyed in the engagement. Killed and wounded, twenty. Yours,

JOHN.

HILTON HEAD, Friday P.M., November 15, [1861].

DEAR CHARLES,— We've been on shore now since Sunday, and are fairly established on the island, of which we have entire possession—the rebel battery of five guns at the S. W. extremity having been abandoned, and being now held by our pickets. I send you a map of the place, with position of the different Brigades. Calibogue Sound is the channel between the island and the main, through which light draught steamers can pass and by which an inland communication was kept up, before our arrival, between Savannah and Charleston. Bay Point, upon which the other rebel fort was situated that guarded the harbor, is about two miles and a half N. E. from Hilton Head. Our Brigade is camped in a great field of Sea Island cotton, about two thirds of which has been leveled for the accommodation of the tents, color lines, etc. I send a wad of it, picked from one of the bushes. The island produces nothing but this cotton, with corn and potatoes (sweet) for the cattle and negroes. The cattle are fed altogether on corn stalk fodder—and very small poor looking animals they are—look as if they never *had been* fat. A lot of twenty or thirty horses brought in the other day were the most miserable looking set I ever saw. You could not find such bad ones anywhere in New York or New England unless you advertised for them. The corn looks pretty well and has a great many good ears, though nearly every one of them is black and powdery at the end, from the devastation of the weevils. The cotton is partly harvested and partly still on the bushes. A few of the bushes are still in blossom (the flower is yellow and very much in size and shape like a hollyhock.) Yesterday I went round the pickets with General Viele, up to General Drayton's plantation, north of our position, then west and south, and back to the front of Stevens' Brigade. General Drayton¹ commanded the rebel troops on Hilton Head, and his brother, Captain Drayton of the Navy, commanded one of our gunboats. They were firing at each other on the day of the engagement. We went also outside the line to Joseph Pope's plantation just south of the swamp at the head of Broad Creek.

¹ Thomas Fenwick Drayton (c. 1807–1885).

² Percival Drayton (1812–1865), of the *Pocahontas*.

It was very interesting to see the curious style of plantation life. At the time of the attack there seems to have been a stampede from the island of everybody on extraordinary double quick time. They even ran away from the plantations on the main land. The negroes on the island were all driven away to the main by their masters, but the next day and the day following came back again and are now living on the plantations, the same as usual. I think, from all I can see, that the negroes are not attached to their masters, but are attached to the plantation. They are not particular who their masters are, so long as they can keep on living on the same estate, just as cats stick to a house, after the family are gone. At any rate they don't seem to show any regret that their masters are driven away, nor any particular gratification that we have come, except that they are not driven up to work as they were before, and can just hoe their own potatoes and sell their chickens to the soldiers. One or two were very anxious that we should not "let the ole white folks come back"; but more, I thought, because they were afraid they should be punished for coming back themselves than anything else. At Pope's estate the chimneys of the negro-houses were built of nothing but burnt oyster shells and sand (outside the houses at one end), and their corn mill was the funniest thing I have seen yet. It was just two grindstones, about a foot and a half in diameter, one on top of the other, a hole in the middle of the upper one to put the corn in, and grooves in the surface of the lower one for the grist to run out, with a stick stuck in the upper stone to turn it round by, just the same as they had when "two women were grinding at the mill," etc. The land is very dry on the surface, a very sandy loam, but by digging from two to four feet anywhere on our cotton field, we get a perfectly pure soft water (a little turbid at first but it clears in a day or two), so that nearly every company in the Brigade has now its own private well. It seems to be the sea water that filters up through the sand and gets purified of the salt in its passage. So much for this place. We (1st Brigade), however, won't stay here long. Our provisions are already being carted on to the ships—*Oriental*, *Catawba*, *Roanoke* and six or seven other transports—to take us farther on, while the balance remain here to carry out the permanent arrangements at this point. So I expect in a week or less we shall be on the water again. I have not received a letter from home yet since leaving Annapolis, but hope to with every new arrival. I am all right. Perfectly well and like the business. One curious thing to me

is, we can't see the Great Bear at night till about two o'clock A.M. for latitude. Your affectionate brother,

J. C. D., JR.

FROM EDWARD B. DALTON.¹

CAMP BRIGHTWOOD, D. C.

36th Reg't N. Y. V., Col. Chas. H. Innes.

November 23d, 1861.

So you have seen Sally since she got home. I hope you'll run out to Cambridge now and then while you are at home. I wish I could do it with you. I am getting on all right here. I am well, and have got things reasonably comfortable about me, and shall be all right when I get a good servant. My horse turns out well. Unfortunately just now, like all the horses in these parts when they are first kept exposed, he has the "dis-temper," that is a sore throat, cough, etc., but he eats well and is not made much sick by it. On the road and over the fields he is first-rate and I am very well satisfied with him. He had a very hard day's work the day he got here, having been rode by a heavy man seventy-three miles from six o'clock A.M. till eight P.M. He was pretty stiff for some days afterwards, and was still so when father and Charles were here, but he has gotten entirely over it now. I tried him at a ditch the other day and he leapt very well. I find that it is often very inconvenient to have but one horse and that the other Surgeons in the brigade have found it so much so that they all keep two. I mean to do the same, and Charles is going to find me one in Boston and send it on with servant by some regiment. He spoke of one in the truck at the store and from his description I think he would suit me exactly, if he can get him and if he finds on trial that he is good under the saddle. I hope your chances in the new regiment of Worcester County will come out all right. . . . Being from Massachusetts I was invited to dine at General Couch's headquarters. The General himself was away, but we had a very good dinner and pleasant time — Roast Turkey and Champagne in real New England style. I feel more satisfied with my position as I get more familiar with it. My own regiment is rough but good. Charles will tell you about it, or has done so

¹ On October 29 he received orders to report to Dr. Charles Stuart Tripler, Medical Director of the Army of the Potomac, as surgeon of the 36th N. Y. Volunteers, Charles H. Innes being its Colonel.

by this time. The Colonel and Lieutenant Colonel¹ are both old Mexican soldiers, officers (company) in the volunteer force at that time. Have seen fighting and want to see more. They are good straight-forward men to deal with. The Adjutant is a gentleman, a young lawyer from New York, a good fellow.² The present Assistant Surgeon has just resigned and I am trying to get a friend of mine sent in his place, when I shall be all right. The above "pictor" is quite good. The country about here is quite pleasant, and as I get opportunity to ride about the adjoining camps in this division I discover quite a number of old acquaintances. I was very much disappointed that you did not get into New York soon enough for me to see you before I was off. Had several good dinners and good times generally with Father and Charles. Saw the splendid review the other day. I think we shall winter where we are. If I think of anything else you can do for me I will write, but the menial is the important thing now. Love to all. Goodbye and good luck.

NED.

CAMP BRIGHTWOOD, D. C.
36th Reg't N. Y. Volunteers,
November 28, '61.

DEAR CHARLES,—I got your two letters of Saturday and Sunday, and yesterday the package came along to Camp, containing India rubber cloak, drinking tube and killickinnick—all of which are tip-top. The cloak is fine, just exactly the thing. Thank you much for thinking of the tobacco too, for it is very hard to get any good hereabouts, and in camp it is far better than such cigars as we can get. I'm very glad you've got hold of a greggo,³ also the right kind of horse and servant, if they turned out such. The last few days I've been building a stable. I got some men detailed for the purpose, bought some lumber, and have gotten up quite a bang-up establishment. It will be finished all except the elegancies of the internal arrangement, tonight. I got tired of having my horse so far from my tent and outside of camp, and as it looks so much like wintering here, I concluded to go ahead, and have a good place for my horses while the weather was still decent. It is good entertain-

¹ Daniel E. Hungerford.

² Robert H. Jones.

³ A coarse woollen coat? There is a word "greggo," meaning a coarse jacket with a hood, worn in the Levant.

ment, too, to build it. My uniform came yesterday, too, all right. Will write you again as soon as "Greggo" comes. . . .

I've had two Thanksgiving turkeys: one with the Massachusetts men, and another yesterday with the New York. . . . A variety of indications turn up that we are to winter where we are. One which I heard yesterday from our Adjutant looks pretty decisive, that General Keyes who you know commands this division has rented a house in Washington for the winter. Do you expect to be in these parts again soon? Did you see Barlow in New York and did you find out anything which helped you?

NED.

FROM JOHN C. DALTON, JR.

HILTON HEAD, November 28, '61.

DEAR CHARLES,—I got your welcome letter, with the rest, by the *Bienville* last night. Thank you for the papers. We are all right, so far, and tremendously glad to find that the folks at home are satisfied with what has been done. The more I see of the place, the better I am satisfied that it was a very judicious move, and worth more to get this harbor than it would be to take a couple of cities. Good luck, too, that the *Belvidere* has turned up all right, with my horse on board, sound in wind and limb, fatter than when he went on board, and without a hair rubbed off. I put him in charge of a teamster of the 47th Reg't who stuck to him well and took good care of him. I have not yet taken him off the boat. Within the last five or six days, I've had rather more time to go round the island. One Monday went down to Braddock's Point (south eastern extremity) on a little Secesh mare picked up here with a lot of others, and which I boned out of the Quartermaster to use till mine was on terra firma. She is a nice little thing and has got speed in her. I've used her ever since we have been in camp. On way to Braddock's Point, everything was much like this end of island—cotton fields, corn fields, and marsh creeks bordered by strips of woods, pines (Georgia pitch and bastard), live oak hung with southern moss, magnolias, palmetto, and such like. From the point we looked across to Tybee island, and Fort Pulaski, which rises up out of the water, like Fort Sumter, just between Tybee island and the main. The fort was about six or seven miles distant from us, but we could see the Secesh colors perfectly well through my glass. Our four gunboats were lying cosily up against the head of Tybee island,

looking out for a chance. The abandoned works of the enemy at Braddock's Point were only of four guns — one very fine large columbiad from Tredegar Works, and three common 18 and 24 pounders. We keep a picket only on the point in charge of the guns, and three companies of 7th Conn. Regiment, at Mr. Baynard's estate about a mile inland. Yesterday I was out at the two ferry landings farthest up the Sound from Braddock's Point, in Skull creek; at one, Ferry Point, saw four rebel soldiers who had come over with a flag of truce, in charge of an adjutant general, to get the body of Dr. Buist who was killed in the fort at the time of our attack. They were dressed entirely in gray, in a very awkward and unsoldier-like looking uniform, but were intelligent looking fellows enough, with very little of the peculiar Southern look about them. I could not learn where they belonged.

Yesterday there was some ineffectual firing between our gunboats, and some steamers from Savannah and Pulaski. We made reconnoissance on Tybee Island (General Sherman went in person), and I should not wonder if arrangements were getting under way for a serious attack on Fort Pulaski. But that can't be done by ships, but must be by troops and mortar batteries from Tybee Island. Here, on Hilton Head our troops are throwing an extensive breastwork, with ditch, etc., a quarter of a mile long running between the woods on the south eastern edge of the island across to the Smaller creek behind our camp. Beside which, the stakes are already placed for a bridge-head to protect the bridge by which we cross, and to sweep the field now occupied by our Brigade. Thank you for your offer to send me things. I will not ask for them now, for I don't believe this place is to be the permanent location of our Brigade; but when we get where we're going, (wherever that is), I shall send to you for a lot of traps I shall probably need. I'm a little sorry you've gone in for post of Major or Colonel, instead of Quarter Master, as you thought of at first. You would be *As* as Quartermaster. I can see it from what I have observed in our expedition, and Heaven knows that Department needs capable men in it, *at least*, as much as any other. In an expedition like this, more particularly, at certain times every body and every thing is dependent on the Quartermaster; and, as attached to a Brigade or even a Division, as I think you might easily have it arranged, you would be a more important officer, and do more service than any Colonel in the Army. Beside that, I see that, in almost any capacity, one has a better chance of getting a

correct idea of what is going on, than as officer of a regiment. This is all taking it for granted that you haven't any particular military ambition and don't hanker after a star on the shoulder. If you do, then all right. Go ahead, and good luck.

Here's some Southern money. Looks rather shabby, doesn't it? This is a splendid day. Night before last we had a frost and I found ice in my water bucket in morning, but now it's warm again, with a fine autumnal air. Goodby. I must try and write another letter before the mail closes. Yours,

J. C. D., Jr.

HILTON HEAD, PORT ROYAL, S. C.,
December 14th, '61.

DEAR CHARLES,—I have not written you for some time, partly because I have not heard from you since my last; and partly because, as I intimated, we have been expecting to move from here, from one couple of days, almost, to another. I have made up my mind, now, to go ahead just as if we meant to stay here for a year, until the paddles are actually turning to take us out of the harbor. Things look very differently from what they did when we came here—much more civilized, notwithstanding it's only volunteer soldiers we've had to do the work with. The new entrenchments are a fine piece of work, and are fast getting the guns mounted on them. The entire 2d Brigade (Stevens') has gone to Beaufort, which they now occupy together with the whole of Port Royal Island upon which it is situated. The enemy's pickets, however, are upon the shore of the mainland beyond P. R. Island about twelve or fifteen miles or so from Beaufort. One of the regiments of our Brigade (the 46th N. Y.) is also detached and is occupying Tybee Island, at the entrance of Savannah River, near Fort Pulaski, and a newly arrived Pennsylvania Regiment (55th) is now stationed at Saybrook Ferry on Hilton Head at Skull Creek. So we are no longer the advanced guard of the Division, and go to sleep without looking to see where we should pick up our boots and pistols if attacked in the night. The expedition seems to me to have been directed well so far. This island and harbor have been thoroughly secured (being the main objects of the enterprise and the basis of any further operations) before expanding in other directions too rapidly. Please direct my letters hereafter (for the present) to me care of General Viele, 1st Brigade, Sherman's Expedition, Port Royal, Beaufort District, So. Ca., as Port Royal is now a regular Post Office. . . .

JNO. C. D., JR.

HILTON HEAD, December 16th, '61.

DEAR CHARLES, — The further movements of our Brigade are balked for the present, or at least altered, by different arrangements at Division Head Quarters, much to our disappointment. . . .

What does Mr. Cameron want to make a stir about the slaves for? It's perfectly ridiculous to talk about "arming" them. You might just as well pitch the muskets into the Potomac for any good they would do; but as for liberating them that comes just as easy and natural as breathing without making any fuss at all about. See how it is here. The masters run away — if they stay and support the Gov't we don't want to take away their slaves — and we find only their niggers. Those that choose to come within the lines can do so, when of course they are subjected to military control, like every body else there, and are employed as laborers at wages; those that stay on the plantations dig their corn and sweet potatoes as usual, and there is no occasion whatever for the troops to interfere with them. So they *are* free, by the abandonment of their masters, and not by any government proclamation or fuss of any sort. Some sell their "truck" to soldiers, some hire themselves to wait on the officers, and it all comes as a matter of course. I hope to get this off by the *Atlantic* (as I hear she has not yet gone), though I wrote you by her day before yesterday.

Give my address to the others. Your affectionate brother,
JNO. C. D., JR.

FROM EDWARD B. DALTON.

CAMP BRIGHTWOOD, D. C., 36 Regt. N. Y. S. V.,
[December, 1861?]

Pen reported here Friday P.M. and was surprised to find Lem Kinnicutt of Worcester with me. The latter has had a somewhat similar experience to Pen's first — is thrown out of his place in the 15th.¹ Pen stayed over night with me and went

¹ On November 23, 1861, a commission as Second Lieutenant in the 2d Mass. Regiment was given to Henry R. Dalton, and he hastened to join the regiment then at or near Frederick, Maryland. "There existed some feeling between Governor Andrew and Colonel Gordon of the 2d Regiment regarding the method of appointment of officers after the regiment had left the State; the latter contending that no one should be appointed who had

on next day. In first rate spirits. Got a note from him last night. You've heard by this time, and know that he is at Fort Runyon, Co. C., Captain Draper. I shall go over the first decent day and see how he's fixed. He writes as though everything was satisfactory. Don't you like the place he has got? Seems to me it's just the thing. Just the place for him [to] do well and keep in good health.

He told me you think of coming on in course of few weeks. Hope you will. I shall try to get over and see him every week. No doubt I can do it, he is so near Washington. That is if we stay here, which I most sincerely hope, we shan't do it. It's tantalizing enough to keep reading of victories out West and South—and firing salutes and things over the deeds of other people and all the time be stuck here rusting out with ennui.

Things look fine, though, now don't they? John I suppose either has seen, or will soon see fun enough. His great desire was to enter Charleston with the force that took it. And he very likely may do so now.

NED.

FROM JOHN C. DALTON, JR.

HILTON HEAD, December 19th, '61.

DEAR CHARLES,—I got yours of the 9th December last night and was mighty glad to see something from home. I received an *English* book from New York a couple of weeks ago, which I had ordered of Van Nostrand with your direction upon the cover, but no French one. The one I received was Jackson on the Constitution, Discipline, etc. of Armies. Have not heard yet from Ned. His Colonel's name is *Inness*, is it not. (36th N. Y.)? Your speaking of my sending home captured swords, muskets, etc., reminded me for the first time that I *could* send home my bulky relics, that I've been keeping in my trunk ever since we landed, in the vague impression I should have to cart them round

not first been recommended by himself. I had not been so recommended and was consequently made the object of the Colonel's enmity towards Governor Andrew, and learning through Captains [Edward Gardiner] Abbott, [Henry Sturgis] Russell, [Robert Gould] Shaw [then a lieutenant] and others of the regiment, as well as from Major Wilbur Wright (all of whom received me with cordiality), that should I persist in joining the regiment, all means in the Colonel's power would doubtless be made use of to rid me from it. I determined reluctantly to act on the friendly advice of such good friends, and returned to Boston."—H. R. B.

with me until I could return to the North myself. I send them to you by Adams' Express, by same boat which carries this letter. The broken gunstock I picked up inside of Fort Walker immediately after the battle (next morning). There were entire muskets enough that I suppose I could have got, but I thought the damaged one would be more interesting as a relic than if it were whole, as one musket looks pretty much like another. The two pieces of shell I found inside a stockade in one of the trenches. Hold on to them all and if I've a chance I'll [send] you something more when I can. I wrote you a few days ago that we were *not* to go from here on another trail immediately, as we had expected. The fact is, we had orders, three or four days after landing, to hold the brigade in readiness to re-embark. And when we had gotten about tired of waiting for the order of embarkation actually to come, General Sherman at last gave us notice that we should be ordered off last Monday. Last Monday came and went however, and brought only a further postponement, with unpleasant suspicion of an entire alteration of our plan of operations. You understand, we (Viele's Brigade) want to be doing something *on our own hook*, as the first intention was that we should, (after helping to take and secure Hilton Head), so that we could be a little army by ourselves, and make our own plans and find out how much we could do. At present we have assurances, which we *almost* rely upon, that this will be done after all, and that we are only waiting to sink the stone fleet and to finish up the business of Fort Pulaski, before branching off on our own private campaign. The entire 2d Brigade is gone to Beaufort (perhaps I told you that before), and one of our regiments and one of the 3rd Brigade have also been detached and are stationed on Tybee Island, *convenient* to Pulaski. The signal officers communicate constantly, by two intermediate stations, between here and Beaufort. One of the greatest amusements we have now is with the contrabands, that come to the staff camp, in charge of the picket just opposite to where we are located; particularly as the General has a great taste for drawing out the fun in anybody's character and turning it round to look at it all over. The last, this morning, who had run away from a plantation on the Main, was a rather loaferish looking boy about sixteen or seventeen, with a younger companion. Both looked pretty sleek and as if they knew how to find the good things to eat, if there were any round. Says the General, "What would you do if we were to go away from here and your white folks come back?" The nig first looked puzzled, then suddenly very sober in addition, "Wha' ? you go 'way from he' ?" "Yes."

"And dey come back?" "Yes." "Wha'? *Come back*. An' you go 'way? Do' no wha' to tink 'bout dat. Wha' come back? — CHRIST!"

It's not a bad idea, that of Governor Andrew's, for you to take a U. S. Quarter Master's appointment and be stationed in Boston this winter. Though you'd like better on some accounts to be in the field, of course, yet it would be a great deal more comfortable for Miss McGregor, and there's no doubt you could do service enough, acting both for Federal and State governments, to make it well worth while. Weather here now is very fine, warm and sunny in day, no overcoats needed till sunset or thereabout, and nights cold but comfortable with hay stuffed bedding and plenty of blankets. If you have not yet sent off the things I asked you for in my last by express, please put in package a ream of small letter paper, same size as this. . . .

JNO. C. D., JR.

NEW YORK, Thursday 19, [December, 1861?].¹

DEAR CHARLES,—How do your Quarter Master projects get on? Mine are yet in the same condition of uncertainty and *waiting*.

Yesterday a man came to see me who said he was *H. B. Ayer*, of Manchester, that he was some relative of Ben F. Ayer who used to live there, and that he knew you and of your intimacy with Ben Ayer. Said he was a Doctor, graduated at Edinboro, went South to New Orleans last winter to attend lectures in Medical College, went into dentistry business—was impressed into Confederate army, as *Assistant Surgeon*, under pain of being shot for an Abolitionist, was at Bull Run, went back to Louisiana, came up to Missouri, was at the battle of Springfield,² came north, and wanted some help (money) to get back to his friends in Manchester. He is *certainly* an imposter and as full of lies as he can stick, tho' I do not doubt that he is H. B. Ayer of Manchester or that he has been in New Orleans. But I think it exceedingly likely that he is a spy, and that he means to go back South after staying here a while. I gave information of him at the Superintendent's of police office, and they told me if I came across him again to give him at once to a policeman and have him taken down to the office. I have no doubt he

¹ The 19th of June, 1862, fell on a Thursday, but the letter was probably written in 1861.

² October, 1861.

will go to Manchester in a few days. He asked for you, where you lived now, etc. If you see him, have him nabbed and examined by the experts. I think it would not be a bad thing to have somebody on the lookout for him in Manchester.

I expect Ned today, he has got a good regiment to begin with.
Yours,

JOHN.

FROM EDWARD B. DALTON.

CAMP BRIGHTWOOD, D. C., 36 Regt. N. Y. V
Christmas Eve, [1861].

DEAR CHARLES,—I wish I was stretching my legs under your mahogany tonight as a year ago, instead of squatting here in my tent. Some diff' twixt that and this. Here we sit, Captain Ulshoeffer¹ and I, mulling over a small magnum of punch, and the recollections of what has been, and hopes of what may be. . . . Pen I saw a good deal of while he was in Washington. Unfortunately being without an assistant, I could get but little time in town. Once though I got Dr. O'Leary to look after things, and Pen and I managed to have a small celebration at Gautier's. He went off in first rate spirits.

Hugh and the horse "Dick" are first-rate. I like both better every day.

Christmas Night.

DEAR CHARLES,—As I turned the page, Ulshoeffer and I lit fresh cigars and when we had finished we were sleepy enough to turn in so I concluded to finish my letter today.

I got yours of the 23d today. Thank you much for box. I shall look after it at once. I suppose it was addressed as usual to 248. As I was saying, Hugh and the pony are tip-top. Hugh is certainly a first quality groom. You have no idea the change he has wrought already not only in Dick, but in "Romey." He is really worth double since he took him in hand. He's as round as a barrel and as full of life as he can stick. He has the same quantity of feed as before, but is sleek and shiny as if he had twice the quantity. Dick too is coming right. I don't believe you'll know him. I thought him rather hard under the saddle at first, after riding Romey, but as I get used to his gait I like him much. He has a fine strong tread and under the curb,

¹ William G. Ulshoeffer, of Co. H, but originally adjutant of the 36th Regt.

is coming into style well. Hugh looks after all my traps with a will. Always at something and as quiet as possible. He is just the kind of man I wanted. When are you coming on again? Pen seemed to think you would very soon. If you do, don't fail to spend a night out here, and more if you can. We will take out the horses together. I'll give you a more comfortable bed too. I have built and moved into a magnificent hut, nine ft. by sixteen, built of boards. It is actually luxurious. I have picked up the remains of an old Franklin stove, and am at present struggling with it, as to whether I shall get more comfort or smoke from it. Thus far it has been about an even thing, slightly in favor of the smoke, but I think I'm beginning to gain on it. I have attacked in the rear, and by lengthening the pipe, am gradually circumventing it. It is a mighty comfortable home-like looking thing, and I am bound to make it work if possible. . . . I try to imagine I'm smoking pipes with you, and talking over the prospect of a scrimmage with England. Looks though something's brewing, doesn't it? Well let's go in. No backing out. Better have it out with her now than put it off, by any stooping. Don't you think so? A thousand times better be whipped even, than submit to dictation. Well, if it comes, we've got a strange time ahead, haven't we? Come along before great while. Your affectionate Brother,

NED.

FROM JOHN C. DALTON, JR.

HILTON HEAD, December 27th, '61.

DEAR CHARLES, — I received yours of the 18th this morning by *Ocean Queen*. You must before now have received my reply to your letter of the 9th and box of "relics" by express. I get the papers too which you send, and they are a great luxury — next to letters. I know how you must have felt about setting our good little Pen — God bless him and keep him safe — off to his Regiment. Do write me in your next the name of his Colonel and Brigadier General, also where Ned's Regiment is located. I have not yet heard from him. *Did Pen* get a little note from me, immediately after the capture of Port Royal? I hope he did, for I don't want him to think I did not remember him. I'm still afraid he will find a lieutenant's work too hard. Can't you pick up a place for him as aid to some good Brigadier General? I shall watch out for him here, if there is any vacancy of that kind on General Viele's Staff. Would he like it? I'm glad you think

as you do about the Quartermaster's Department for your self. It requires, I am sure, too much preliminary study and military training for a civilian to make a good Brigadier General, and I don't believe you would be satisfied with a Colonelcy. I continue quite well, and all right in every respect. You are *perfectly right* in what you write about the disposition of our forces on the Potomac, and intended movements. I believe our chiefs know what they are about. If Meigs puts in the Q. M. Department how I should like to have you sent to this Division. I believe General Viele will certainly command a division before the war is over and this, of course, is most likely to be the one. I have not yet been up to Beaufort; nor indeed off the island of Hilton Head, though I know the paths all over here pretty well, but expect to go up to B. within a week — as soon as we get the busy work done of squaring up monthly, quarterly and yearly reports and returns, about which, together with musters and inspections, everybody is occupied just now. It's nearly twelve (midnight) and I hope to get this off by the *Ariel* if I can get down to beach and off in a boat to the Steamer by reveille tomorrow morning. . . .

J. C. D., JR.

FROM EDWARD B. DALTON.

CAMP BRIGHTWOOD, D. C., 36 Regt. N. Y. V., January 2d, 1862.

DEAR CHARLES, — Happy New Year. The box which arrived after considerable delay of course, in Washington, did help vastly in celebrating. Most acceptable fluids and segars, though you may rest assured I did not [put] such like by any means on general tap. And such another celebrating you never saw, as took place on New Year's Eve in the "Bloody 36th" as some pussons in the vicinity style it. I'd have given a great deal to have had you here.

Your humble servant as well as some of the other officers, was serenaded about one o'clock A.M. 1st January, '62, and with really very good music too. Then followed the usual ceremonies. But altogether I never saw such a New Year's Eve before. I thought I had seen some things among medical students, in slums, etc., etc., but this beat anything yet.

Hugh, hearing some slight noise in my cabin, concluded there was a free fight going on, shook himself out of his blankets, and suddenly made his appearance on the boards, fully prepared to

sail in, to the boisterous amusement of the assembled company, who insisted on his dancing "The Irishman's Shanty," which the orchestra performed with tremendous effect.

Hugh was also much disappointed that you were not here to witness celebration and laugh over it with Mr. Hovey afterwards. Hugh seems to like it here much and he is a capital fellow. When are you coming on? Sally writes me that she had some beautiful presents from Mary and yourself. We are getting the men into winter quarters as rapidly as possible, though it is pretty slow work at best.

NED.¹

FROM JOHN C. DALTON, JR.

HILTON HEAD, January 8th, 1862.

DEAR CHARLES, — I got your letter of the 30th December yesterday by the *Atlantic*. Thank you for attending to all my requests. I had also received your last letter in which you told me that Pen had gotten his Commission and gone to Washington to join [his] regiment. That letter I also replied to by *Ocean Queen* of a week or ten days ago. The letters I guess, both back and forward, have all come to hand, but the parcel which you sent me by Adams' Express about the 24th of last month, containing socks, box of "pipes," etc., I *have not yet received*, and they do not know anything about it at the express office here. It's somewhere in between, I guess, and will come along, after a while. What a whelp Gordon is to bear down as he did, or tried to, on Pen. I spoke about Pen's being an aid on General Staff in my last. What do you and he think of it? I think it would be better and more satisfactory to him altogether if he could find the right place than being 2nd Lieutenant, with distant prospect of being Captain of Company about the time the war is over. What a clever letter that is of Seward's to Mercier in reply to Thouvenel! Better I think than the one in reply to Lord John Russell, though that was good. On the

¹ On January 5 he wrote:

"The Colonel yesterday received the commission of one Wm. H. Hall as assistant Surgeon this Regiment. Said Hall has not yet appeared. I trust he is something decent.

"I had quite a talk with General Couch yesterday over cigar. He says our regiment grows smaller every month. I discharge a good many and recruits come very hard.

"What a general muss things seem to be getting into. We'll be at it with England yet. Who cares?"

whole, it seems to me the arrangement of the *Trent* Affair has been made in a *handsome manner* on both sides, though 'twas a confounded unpleasant *thing to do*. But we could not avoid it. How much more sincere and friendly the tone of the French communication was, too, than that of the English. One of the cleverest things in Seward's letter is that last sentence, where he reminds Mercier so handsomely of the time when the French and Americans were allies, with the English for an enemy.

(Talking of Pen's short sight, tell him and Ned both to carry an extra pair of glasses *constantly* in pocket; it's no trouble, and might save a great deal of bother at the wrong minute.) Here we seem to be constantly *getting ready*, as elsewhere, tho' for my part I don't feel the impatience that seems to have taken possession of the public. I never expected the war to last a day less than three years, and I know all the difficulties of transportation, etc., and all the preparation the troops still require before they can be relied on for extensive operations. So I think we are going on well, or rather have faith that we're *going to go*. You've seen the account I suppose of our last skirmish down here. The enemy had been threatening General Stevens' brigade, at Beaufort, particularly with a battery some ten miles up the river at Port Royal Ferry. So he sent down for a couple of our regiments to help him take it. General Sherman sent up the 47th and 48th N. York on 31st December and then went up himself, leaving General Viele in command here. Next day January 1st we heard the big guns all the morning (our people taking the battery with help of gunboats), and next day (2nd) the big guns again from boats shelling the woods as our regiments returned to Beaufort. It wasn't much of a battle, though we brought away the enemy's cannon (the only siege gun they had in the battery) and killed a good lot of them with loss of only two or three on our side. The 47th and 48th have now returned, and the 55th Pennsylvania is also attached to the Brigade, so that we have now five regiments again in camp, beside the 46th N. Y. which belongs to us, but is now detached and stationed for the present on Tybee Island.

Write every time you can. Your affectionate brother,
JOHN.

HILTON HEAD, January 11th, '62.

DEAR CHARLES, — I have just heard that a mail is expected to leave at 4 A.M. tomorrow, and I try to get in a letter edge-wise, tho' it's pretty late now. I write more particularly about

Pen and his prospects of getting a post as General's Aid-de-Camp, to which I alluded in my last. I've been thinking of it a good deal more since then. I asked you whether he would not like to come on General Viele's Staff as aid. I believe it would be a better chance for him, and that he is admirably qualified for it — prompt, intelligent, gentlemanly, accustomed to transmitting and carrying out the orders of others, and knows enough of tactics already (doesn't he?) to be of good service in the field. I see it more since we have been having Brigade drills and evolutions so much (daily now). You know too how much relief it would be to me to have him where I could look after him and be ready to take care of him if he were sick. I think too he'd like General Viele and that Viele would like him. Now let me know at once what you think of it, and whether he would like it. I've little doubt that I could get him the appointment if he would like it. At any rate I wish he would let me try.

We've got two Lowe's balloon gas generators here (they came in the *Atlantic*), and a Lowe's balloon, which is now swaying about over General Sherman's headquarters on its first trial inflation. I don't yet get the box you sent me by express. They told me, at the express office here, that everything for this port was cleared out of the New York offices up to January 3d and the *McClellan* has arrived since with dates to the 5th. So that it probably (according to their story) got stuck in the Boston office, or somewhere between that and New York.

The weather here now is wonderfully mild. I've just gotten a little tent stove from New York, like the rest of the staff, but it feels now as if we should never want them again though it was so cold in December.

I've just got a new contraband servant (came over from Bluffton on the main), in place of my first one who proved too dismally stupid and African to do anything without being told over again every day. Some of them, however, are bright and quick enough, and I guess the new one is of that sort, by the way he goes to work. We let the nigs come in now, whenever they want to go to work or into service, but don't let them out again, except those that come to trade chickens and sweet potatoes off their farms. How the time gets on! I never knew it go faster than it does here. Though we don't seem to be doing anything to the folks up North, night always comes unexpectedly to me, and before I've gotten through with all I meant to do. I wrote to Ned the other day. Hope he'll get it. Addressed to him at Camp Brightwood, Washington. Your affectionate Brother,

JNO. C. D., JR.

HILTON HEAD, Sunday, January 19th, '62.

DEAR CHARLES, — A week ago today I received by the *Connecticut* your letter of December 21st with father's of same date — your letter containing express Co.'s receipt for parcel (containing socks, currycomb and brush, cigars, etc.) which has *not yet come to hand*. On inquiring several times at the express office here they told me that a vessel containing a large quantity of express matter had left Fortress Monroe for this port the latter part of December, was damaged at sea and obliged to put back to Baltimore for repairs, but would come out again in a few days, and that my parcel, with many other missing ones, was probably on board of her. But the *S. R. Spalding* came in day before yesterday from Fortress Monroe with 2000 packages of express matter (they say the delayed packages), and there is nothing for me among them — at least so says Lieutenant Gould who has just come up from looking over the way bill.

Two days ago I received by *Baltic* yours of January 4th with *World* newspapers giving account General Pope's cutting out expedition, and young Amory's ¹ Cavalry Charge; and today got your second package by express containing linen drawers, rug (elegant, that is), horse comb, note-paper, hooks and stamped envelopes. Thank you for all of them. Envelopes I had on hand but will no doubt use them all, and yours too, before I get through. Got a letter too from Pen, in which he says if I succeed in getting him on to General Viele's Staff he "would be transferred most willingly," and I gather from what you say that if he had his free choice he would rather prefer to be on the line among his young comrades than on the General Staff. Now I have not done anything decisive about it because I did not like to, without knowing exactly whether Pen would, of himself, like best to take that position. (It would be a much more *comfortable* one, you know, than in the line.) And shall not of course do anything else about it until I hear from you more positively about Pen's plans. If *he wants* a place here I *think* I can get it, tho' of course am not sure.

The First Mass. Cavalry, or rather about 700 of them, have arrived here on the *Baltic*, under command of Colonel Williams ² — of Regular Army, a Virginian by birth. I think we shall move now, positively, within a few days, and when I next write shall have more news to tell. General Viele's Command is

¹ Copley Amory, 2d lieutenant in the 4th Cavalry. Died in 1879.

² Robert Williams (1829-1901).

worth fifty per cent more than the day it disembarked November 9th. He keeps it well "shaken up" all the time and the improvement, both in drill and in moral discipline and general bearing is very marked. I have much curiosity to see the Mass. Cavalry who are stationed now at "Seabrook Ferry" — on north-western corner of the island, about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles from here. They and Hamilton's Battery (horse artillery) I hope will do execution. Of the infantry regiments in our Brigade I depend more on the New Hampshire regiment (3d)¹ than any other — though the General thinks a great deal also of the N. York 48th.² We have also a German Regiment (46th N. Y.)³ which is Ar, but that is now down on Tybee Island and we don't know whether we shall get it back again in time to move with us or not. . . .

JNO. C. D., JR.

FROM GEORGE LEONARD ANDREWS.⁴

CANTONMENT HICKS, FREDERIC, MD.,
January 27, 1862.

MY DEAR SIR, — Yours of the 23d was duly received, also your three telegrams. From my location at the time and from one or two other circumstances, I was unable to answer your telegrams as promptly as I could wish. I telegraphed in answer to your last, that I could not agree to accept at present. I have since carefully considered all the circumstances relative to my accepting the command of the twentieth regiment. I have in many respects a high opinion of the regiment, and am much indebted to yourself for the interest which you are good enough to take in the matter on my account. I do not think I am disposed to shrink from any duty either to the State or to the country. I cannot now give you *all* the reasons which now influence me in this matter.

You know something of the feeling of the officers of the Second regiment toward me.⁵ I have reason to think that I could not leave this regiment to go to another without serious injury to the former, which I regard as the only tolerably well disciplined volunteer regiment that I have seen. My present rank and po-

¹ Enoch Q. Fellows, colonel.

² James H. Perry, colonel.

³ Known as the "Frémont Regiment," Rudolph Rosa, colonel.

⁴ George Leonard Andrews (1828-1899).

⁵ The Second was Gordon's regiment.

sition here are such as to give me very good opportunities for usefulness and distinction; in fact I am not sure that they are not quite as good as any that I should have at the head of a regiment. I cannot rid myself of the opinion that Colonel Lee's¹ friends will make a great effort to have him restored to his old command as soon as he is exchanged. His promotion cannot I take it be a certainty.

The twentieth has, I am told, but 615 men, leaving three to four hundred to recruit and discipline in the short time which, from present indications, remains before an advance. The regiment having been one of the later ones in service and never having been full, it will be disbanded earlier than those longer in the field. If it was probable that the present number of regiments would be kept in the field for any considerable time, these objections would to some extent be removed. But this I look upon as impossible. If owing to Colonel Lee's exchange I should be obliged to oppose him or to go into another regiment, there to repeat the drudgery of bringing a volunteer regiment into a tolerable state of discipline and efficiency, I should feel myself placed in a position which would be very unpleasant and unjust to me.

Upon the whole I do not see now that it would be best for me to accept the command of the twentieth regiment. Very truly yours,

GEO. L. ANDREWS.

FROM JOHN C. DALTON, JR.

DAWFUSKIE I., February 12th, '62.

DEAR CHARLES. — I have received yours of January 14th and January 30th, the last only a few days ago, as well as Pen's of January 6th and 29th, but actually have been too busy since to answer them in time for the last mail by *Baltic*. The chance for Pen to get on General Viele's Staff, which I hoped to be immediate is not yet open, or rather the one which *was* open when I first began to write about it, is filled, and there is no vacancy there now for the present. There is another chance of similar kind, however, which I have good hopes of for him, i.e. as Aid to General Gilmore, formerly Captain U. S. Engineers, recently appointed Brigadier General by General Sherman. As the appointment, made in that way is quite irregular (though

¹ William Raymond Lee (1807-1891).

warranted by the circumstances), General Gilmore has not yet done anything toward selecting his staff, preferring to wait until he feels certain of being confirmed in his appointment.¹ He is with us now, in our mess on the island, and I like him very much, and shall try to get Pen in as his Aid when the time comes. One of General Viele's Aids, also, is ill, and is going home in the *Atlantic*; but I think will recover soon and return to his post by return trip of steamer. Still he may not; and if so, 'twill make another chance for Pen. He'll get all right before long, in one way or another, I am sure. Let me know as soon as he is actually commissioned.

You see we've changed our quarters since I last wrote you. The last of January we left our camp (i.e. the General, one of his Aids and myself) and, with one of the regiments of our Brigade (48th N. Y.) marched to Seabrook's on Hilton Head where there is a pier for loading and unloading (and a great coal yard for the steamers). Two gunboats preceded us, then came a kind of Staten Island Ferry boat (the *Mayflower*), with part of Serrell's Engineer Regiment on board, towing a lot of flat boats with cannon and mortars and wheel barrows, then we on the *Winfield Scott* (iron steamship, cracked and nearly lost on the passage down here from Hampton Roads in November) with the 48th, and towing a schooner loaded with more siege guns and howitzers. So we paddled up Scull Creek into Colibogue Sound to the northern end of Dawfuskie Island. Next day started for southern end of same through Cooper River and a creek they call "Pull and be Damned" and don't do it half justice. It's a most curious country about here. A perfect labyrinth of creeks and inlets and islands, little and big. The map on the other side hardly shows you more than a sketch of it. And when the tide comes in at both ends of Dawfuskie or Turtle Island, and gets into the creeks, it doesn't know which way to run, and often runs both ways at once. Consequently when the channel is narrow and crooked and deep, a boat stands a good chance of going any way but the one she wants to. So the gunboats went on first, as before, through the windings of the Creek, getting stuck and hauling off, and so on, then the *Mayflower* with the schooner (which had been transferred to her) and the flatboats with guns, in tow, and we followed on in *Winfield Scott*, the biggest and longest of all. But we didn't get far, for we went aground at the first sharp turn near the northern end of Long Pine Island, just where you see the ✠

¹ Quincy Adams Gillmore. He became Brigadier General April 28, 1862.

on map, and could not get off at high tide with all the struggles and paddling in the world. Consequently, as we were stuck amidships, with bow and stern in deep water, when the tide began to go out, the ship began to crack and split in a style that showed she would not much longer afford any entertainment to men and horses — sides and deck opening with every crack, as bow and stern settled down. So we all had to pitch ourselves out onto Pine Island, a delightful spot of perfectly flat ground, (except what was marsh) covered with long grass and rushes, and a few pines toward the other end to account for its name. We waited there all day, helpless as so many bricks, seeing the *Scott* gradually come apart, and were glad enough toward night to see the *Mayflower* paddling back to take us off our desert island. I walked our three horses into the water up to my hips and got them slung on board and next morning we were brought back, to the second landing on the island and thence made our way up to where we are now, i.e. at the house marked "Hdquarters" at southern end of Dawfuskie. It's a tolerably good place (the house) for campaign quarters tho' not the thing for a steady residence. In one thing, though, it's better than any place I've seen here yet, i.e. it's seated on a little knoll, and from the portico in front we see Fort Pulaski on the left and the spires of Savannah up the river to the right. This morning I saw them distinctly elevate a barbette gun to fire upon some of our small boats, which were taking soundings, and the gunner sighting the piece before its discharge (through my glass, of course). We have on the island with us one regiment (48th N. Y.) — three companies Rhode Island Artillery, three do. 7th Connecticut Infantry, and two do. Serrell's Engineers. Our object was to establish a battery on Savannah River above Fort Pulaski, which was done today, at Venus' Point, on Jones' Island. You see there was quite a good thing done in preparation fully four or five weeks ago. The enemy, after our taking Hilton Head, had blocked up "Wall's Cut," so as to prevent our getting into Savannah River without passing Fort Pulaski. Wall's Cut is an artificial canal about a hundred feet wide, dug many years ago between what is now Turtle Island and the Main land, which allowed the Savannah and Charleston steamboats to make the entire passage through into Broad River without going outside and being exposed to the weather. As this afforded us an approach to Savannah, the enemy sunk an old hulk crosswise in the cut and fastened it with fifty heavy piles driven into the mud. But a party of our

men under Major Beard went up and rigged a kind of frame work with a crosscut saw at the bottom, hung it on the top of the piles, sawed them off, one after the other below the mud, and swung the old hulk round endwise and fastened her in her new position with some of the spare piles. This took about three weeks steady work, and so confident were the enemy that the cut was fully protected that the working party was not once disturbed. I went through the cut soon after our arrival and landed at one end of it, where a little hut built by our pickets had been burned by the enemy on a subsequent visit. It was as dismal a looking place as I ever saw. Imagine it to be one of these interminable creeks, each one like all the rest, enclosing low and perfectly flat islands, with banks of pure mud, and covered only with tall rushes just high enough to conceal every thing from those on the boats. Even from the portico of our house, our gunboats (three or four of them are 'round all the time) look as if they were lying in the meadow and when they move, look exactly as though they were ploughing through the grass, like the western steamboats that would run wherever the ground was "a little damp." It was a tremendous job getting the guns into position on Venus Point. They had to be towed in flats, through Wall's Cut and Mud River, landed on the slimy bank of Jones Island, and carried across from half a mile to a mile, through the mud, water and rushes, on gang planks laid down in front of the wheels and taken up when the carriage had passed over them, and so on. The work was mostly done last night. Today I was over there, and appreciated it fully after travelling the road myself. However it's worth while. There are three 30-lb. parrot guns, two 20-lb'rs, and an 8-inch howitzer, looking out into Savannah River and ready to fix the next boat that tries to get down to Fort Pulaski. General Viele is in command of this part of the business (north bank of Savannah River); General Wright with 2nd Brigade is on the other side of the River in "Wilmington Narrows"—stopped by the piles which they found driven there too (as in Wall's Cut). General Stevens with 3rd Brigade is still at Beaufort, and Gen'l Sherman is buzzing about from one to the other. One of our Regiments (47th N. Y.)¹ was sent to Edisto Island, last Monday, near Charleston—I suppose to be ready to strike at Charleston and Savannah R. R. when required. Two of our Captains pulled across to "McQueen's Island" this p.m. and cut down half a mile of the Fort Pulaski's telegraph wire, and

¹ The "Washington Greys," Colonel Henry Moore.

brought it home in a boat. I've a half a yard of it, which I will keep for you. Your affectionate brother,

J. C. D., JR.

FROM HENRY ROGERS DALTON.¹

FORT RUNYAN, February 17, '62.

MY DEAR CHARLES,—I received your note containing watch case all right on Saturday and I'm much obliged.

Here am I seated in my quarters at Fort Runyan as "Officer of the day" of this garrison.² "Big thing." I reported on Saturday, turned out with my Company on Sunday and [was] made officer of the day on Monday. I don't know anything of the duties of officer of the day, but with the assistance of my fellow officers, who are very much disposed to assist me in every way I have got along till now (10½ o'clock P.M.) all serene; at 2 A.M., however, I'm going the "grand rounds" with a sergeant and two privates who probably know, much better than I, the business, but I'm pretty well booked up by Lieutenant³ Osgood and I'm going it.

Of course it would be a much more cheerful station at Ft. Albany but I believe I've got into the best Company (so far as agreeability of the officers go) in the whole regiment. The Captain is an educated man and the other officers are straight-forward men and I feel confident of getting on first rate.

Colonel Greene⁴ I liked but had only a short interview with him. The rest of the Staff I've not yet seen, but shall visit Ft. Albany next Sunday. Tell Sally that Lieutenant Clark⁵ is to be quite near me. I hear he is to be attached to Captain Buxton's⁶ Company stationed just at the end of long bridge and you know Fort Runyan is but a short distance beyond. I understand it's a good Company. I hope Theodore will come. I don't know how he would like some companies here, some tough specimens for officers I can tell you. I'm studying up the Artillery drill, but it's such vile weather there's no chance for drilling.

¹ He was commissioned a second lieutenant in the 14th Mass. Regiment February 10, 1862.

² Fort Runyan was an earth-work just beyond the end of Long Bridge, near the present Arlington.

³ James M. Osgood.

⁴ William Batchelder Greene (1819-1878).

⁵ Joseph H. Clark.

⁶ Seth S. Buxton, of the 14th Mass.

Great thing taking Fort Donelson and all those and just following the Burnside victories it must make the rebels shake. Salutes were fired all about here this afternoon in honor of the action and we could hear men cheering at Ft. Albany. Give my love to Mary and tell her I hope to get a letter from her very soon, and let's have one from you before long. Direct to Lieut. Henry R. Dalton, Battery C, 14th Mass., Washington, D. C. Your affectionate Brother,

PEN.

Tuesday morning. "Grand rounds" all right. I found I knew more about it than the sentinel and guard themselves and made several corrections. Big thing from the West!

FORT RUNYAN, February 26, '62.

DEAR CHARLES,— We have just received orders to hold ourselves in readiness to march at a moment's notice and I tell you we have been flying round. Where we are to go and when nobody knows, but we're ready and in five minutes this Co. C would be in line should the long roll beat. So you see perhaps I've not lost my chance of fighting after all. It's raining hard now (half past 6 P.M.) and (unless marching orders come before) we are to be reviewed and inspected at eight this evening by Colonel Greene. My notion is we won't go for a day or two, if we are to be sent to Manassas; but perhaps the fortifications on this side of the Potomac opposite Portsville are to be attacked and that branch of the rebel Army to be cut off; in that case I presume we may start any minute. But then again it may all blow over. Anyhow our men are "itching for the fight" and the drill for the past few days in loading and firing will make them confident. Your letter reached me tonight as I was getting our men fitted out with all necessary accoutrements. . . .

PEN.

11½ P.M

Inspection over. No orders yet and now perhaps we are to wait a day or two, for the roads after this rain will be vile. All I know is that Co. C. is to be one of the companies to march when the Regiment starts; this information is from *Headquarters* so we're in for it when the time comes and all ready every man. If we don't start tomorrow I'll write. There's to be a *big move*

immediately that's sure. I'll write on the route if possible; if not, after the fight. Love to father.

PEN.

Five companies of this regiment march and Co. C. in among that five, the others remain to guard the forts. It's still raining and I fear the roads will be impassable and I guess the long roll will not disturb my slumbers tonight.

FROM JOHN C. DALTON, JR.

HILTON HEAD, March 7th, 1862.

DEAR CHARLES,—I received yours of the 14th and 15th February.

I'm down here from Dawfuskie today, windbound. Was ordered down day before yesterday to sit on a Board of Examination about a medical officer, against whom charges were preferred, and have not been able to go back since. I hate being kept down here, for now all the interest of the position is transferred to the posts of Savannah River and its neighborhood. You have probably seen (but perhaps have not noticed) that we have put up a second battery since the one I wrote you about on Venus Point. The second one is on Bird Island, just about opposite the Venus Point battery, with its guns looking up the river. We are getting ready, also, to pound away at Fort Pulaski from Tybee Island, and I hope it will be fairly "gobbled" by the time another mail starts for the North. But for my part I've seen so many unexpected delays in military movements, and delays which, I could see myself, were perfectly unavoidable, that I don't count much on future dates, though I think the thing is a sure one, at last. Splendid news from the west and Burnside, is it not? That note of General Buckner, announcing his acceptance of Grant's "Ungenerous and unchivalrous terms," "notwithstanding the brilliant success of the Confederate arms," is racy beyond comparison. As the *Tribune* says, it's enough to "raise a grin on a horse-block." The promptitude, too, with which the snarling surrender was elicited by General Grant's note or rather its postscript, in which he says "I propose to move on your works immediately," is a feature for the comic periodicals. General Butler and his troops are here, with a big hole in the *Mississippi* bottom. She ran on a shoal just south of Cape Hatteras, Captain dropped his anchor (I don't know what for) over her bows, and when the

tide began to "hist" her along, it "histed" her onto the iron fluke, which went through her bottom, like a bayonet through a breadbox. So the General put in here in distress, and they have been trying to see if they can't mend her up, and set her going again. But I suspect it's a bad job, and he'll have to take some other vessel. This delay is a great pity, as I suppose the force will be badly wanted down there to come up about the time the other Mississippi fleet is dropping down from above. I saw Sanborn yesterday, who is with the expedition as Surgeon to the 31st Massachusetts. He was very despondent about the accident and said he thought most of the officers would refuse to bring their men onto the vessel again, if it was attempted to patch her up and send her along. I am very glad you feel satisfied with the financial arrangements of the tax bill. There's no getting on without the "sinews of war," and it will be a great credit to us, if we can go through the campaign successfully without getting the financial concerns of the country tangled up. I've met Channing Clapp (in the 1st Mass. Cavalry) once or twice, and also Greeley and Pelham Curtis. The others you mentioned as being officers there I did not know. Glad Pen has got to his regiment. General Gilmore's Staff is not yet organized, but I am watching out for Pen, to run him in if I get a chance. I get all your papers — they're a great luxury. Your affectionate Brother,

JNO. C. D., JR.

DAWFUSKIE, March 15th, 1862.

DEAR FATHER, — We have not yet finished talking over the Kentucky and Tennessee successes, (and Missouri) that came so, all in a heap, with the Burnside victory, though I suppose they are all old stories by this time to you at home. We got hold of a Savannah paper the other day, by two deserters from Fort Pulaski, in which there was an account of the *Merrimac's* having gone out of Norfolk and sunk one of our frigates at Newport News and burned another. The story sounded, too, as if there was something in it, but we hope the affair was not quite so good for the enemy as they made it out. We here are plodding along in our slow way, fixing up our batteries, to keep out the tide water, and watching that the enemy don't circumvent us. We are limited, you see, on this northern bank of the Savannah, to blockading Fort Pulaski and stopping off communication with the city above. At Munger's plantation, where

we are now located, on S. E. corner of Dawfuskie Island, the camellias still continue to blossom abundantly as when I sent the sprig to Julia, in January (did it live through the journey?). Roses are opening now, too, and I picked up a couple of violets yesterday. The mocking birds, brown thrushes and red cardinals make the trees ring in the mornings, and the robins are beginning to show themselves in pretty good numbers, and the best of spirits. Down on the beach in front of the house, which runs nearly or quite the whole length of the island, the tide throws up every day great fringed jelly fish and a kind of red flexible coral, and at Haig's point at the other end of the island, various kinds of sponges are also drifted up almost with every tide. The men, whenever they can get away from camp, have a good deal of sport in shooting gray squirrels and rabbits which are quite plenty in the wood, and which afterward, but very infrequently, find their way to our mess table. I still continue to find abundance of occupation — providing for the medical supplies to four or five different detachments located at and about this post, examining invalids for discharge, getting together the reports every week, going to the batteries on the River to see if the men there are as well off as they can be — gives me plenty to fill up all my time except what I employ in taking care of affairs about headquarters, strolling sometimes on the beach, and occasionally going down to Hilton Head on business. Today an "Agricultural Agent" appointed under the new Act, to supervise the cultivation of the cotton fields for this district, arrived at Munger's. He turned out to be the man who originally laid out the grounds about the house ten years ago — a gardener then, an "Agricultural Agent" now. He recognized and was recognized by several of the negroes on the place.

We don't have much fighting here now, as you see, except occasionally by the batteries and enemy's steamers at a distance. There was a skirmish up the river toward Savannah last evening, between some of our picket boats and the enemy, in which we had four men wounded, one mortally. "Loss of the enemy supposed to be very heavy," but we don't know anything about it. I send you in another envelope, the *Hilton Head Newspaper*. The scourges of civilization, you see, follow us. It has a good little squib, though, about Mr. Cameron. Your affectionate Son,

J. C. D., JR.

DAWFUSKIE, March 15th, 1862.

DEAR CHARLES, — Though I wrote you by last mail I will try to get off a line or two in time for the *Atlantic's* letter bag of tomorrow or Monday. We send down a courier to Hilton Head two or three times a day with despatches and he takes any letters for the north that may be ready for the steamers. I've not much new to tell you, as the Tybee Island folks seem to have a good deal of work before them yet before they can open their part of the ball and speak to Pulaski in a proper manner. Our own batteries on and in Savannah River are gradually approaching the condition of finished works. The last time I was over there, an enemy's steamboat which had been fussing about in Wilmington narrows all the afternoon and morning, driving piles or digging out a channel or something, came out into the river, away up above our stations and scuttled off for Savannah. We saw her heading for the mouth of St. Augustine Creek (leading from Wilmington Narrows into Savannah River) — her smokestack and the long trail of black pitch pine smoke that we know 'em by, moving along over the trees and rushes, and the gunners on Bond Island where we then were got their pieces trained, and the minute her cutwater came ploughing out into the river they banged away at her with 20- and 30-pd'rs one after another, and answered by the guns from Fort Vulcan on the other side, till she had paddled out of range. 'Twas very long shooting and not much chance of a hit, but it's a good thing to peg away like that once in a while till the battery gets the exact range of every one of its guns and every point in the river above. In going over to the batteries that day, in the General's barge (General and Staff were all there), I came across a bottle of "Adams Champagne Cider," which Captain Hamilton had gotten from the steamer at Dawfuskie and was taking over to Major Beard at "Battery Hamilton" on Bird Island. Captain Hamilton is Chief of Artillery here, and the one for whom the Battery on Bird Island is named. I thought I'd take off the label and send it to you, as an old friend from a new place. Here it is. By the way Pen's Regiment is the 14th Mass., is it not? I unfortunately burnt your last letter, after carrying it about for several days, and then was not sure whether I remembered the No. rightly. Please let me know if I have it correct. Also Colonel's name, Brigadier's and Commander of Division. Also, is he 1st Lieut.? Also, is his Company (What Co.?) stationed in *Fort Runyan* or *Fort Albany*? There's

something more I should like to have you send me if you can find it easily — and I know you're not tired of doing me such kindnesses — a *linen horse cover*, smallish size, for Major. The sand flies are intolerable sometimes just where I want him to stand, outside the stable, in the morning, and a light cover would protect him completely. Thank you for the papers. They come, I think, always. At any rate I get a very full supply. Love to all. Your affectionate Brother,

JNO. C. D., JR.

FROM HENRY R. DALTON.

FT. ALBANY, 16th March, '62.

DEAR FATHER, — You will see by the date of this letter that I have changed my quarters from Fort Runyan to Fort Albany, a much more desirable location, one of the highest points about Washington; how long I am to be here I do not know but last Thursday Colonel Greene sent for me to report at Head Quarters; so up I went and he proposed to me to come up and learn the duties of adjutant and I am now devoting myself to accomplish that end, meantime living with the Staff, Colonel, Major and Adjutant, in comfortable quarters at Fort Albany and doing duty as a sort of assistant adjutant. I find Colonel Greene most agreeable, and living and doing business at Headquarters rather more desirable than the duties of 2d Lieutenant in a company, and I shall remain here for the present; and if nothing more comes of it I shall have learned a good deal which I could not otherwise have done as a lieutenant. The only trouble is we have too good dinners. Our cook was Buchanan's old cook at the White House and really gets up very stylish dinners and by six, after an hour of battalion drill, we are somewhat hungry. The duties of adjutant are to keep the accounts of the regiment as regards disposition of the men as guard reports and the sick, etc., etc., which papers have to be made out every morning and to act as a sort of aid to the Colonel, in fact a most desirable one in a regiment. Charles was here on Friday with General Reed and I hope to see him again tomorrow. I am well and enjoying this life exceedingly, having everything arranged as I like it. I have quite a nice little boy for servant, a son of one of the men in my Company and, living as I do, I have no bother of messing. Love to all. Your affectionate Son,

HENRY R. DALTON.

Yours of last Sunday received.

Ned started with the advancing army and I presume is on his way back with the bold besiegers of Manassas. There seems to have been some hitch or other in the last forward movement which depresses the McClellan stock considerably. The troops have returned to the vicinity of Alexandria to embark for somewhere but the authorities neglected to have the sufficient quantity of coal on hand so the troops and some eight steamers (which are lying off in sight of us) are obliged to delay till coal is obtained — by that time where may the rebels be? The command of the army is said to be given to McDowell, but it may be only rumor which is quite prevalent. Direct to me as usual Co. C., Ft. Runyan.

FT. ALBANY, March 17, '62.

DEAR CHARLES, — Sorry not to see you. I hoped you would come out again. Did you effect anything with Frémont and did you see Ned? Everything is going on finely here. Please direct the tailor to have my coat *long*, both the *cape* and *coat*, and have it lined with *scarlet* and a false collar of velvet for the cape. He ought to make one for \$40, but may charge \$45. I don't want one too heavy but a good dark *blue*. Have it a decided blue and write me when you send it on and at what office in Washington, so I may know when to send for it. I would like you to send a couple pounds of *nice tea*, a bottle of the ink you use at the store, and a few segars and some *Turkish* tobacco. The tea is for our mess and I think the Colonel would like the kind you have to drink at 59 H[ancock] St. If you will take the trouble to hurry up the coat, I will be very much obliged for we are not allowed to appear on parade with light blue overcoats, but let Randidge understand I shall return it if it does not suit.

There is a report tonight that the *Merrimac* has got out from Norfolk and that the *Monitor* is steaming out to sea with her. If this is true and the *Merrimac* gets off New York or Boston it will be bad. . . .

PEN.

Be sure the coat be *long*, at *least* half way below the knees, and the collar short so as to come *high* and close to the throat. The army regulations give the directions.

FROM EDWARD B. DALTON.

Cross Roads, 20 Miles from Richmond,
Sunday P.M., 18 March, '62.

DEAR CHARLES, — Here we are crawling up to Richmond pretty fast. Possibly I'll write you from there next Sunday. But whether we've got to fight our way there or only march it is the question. We have been right on their heels now for several days, taking a prisoner now and then, but with the exception of a sight now and then of their rear pickets no personal appearance of the enemy.

Every day I wish you were along with us, for I know how you would share in our interest. We are directly in the advance and for the past two days up to last night our own regiment has been the foremost. It seems something like war when you see crawling along about half a mile ahead of you the long line of skirmishers stretching away toward either side and beating up every wood and plantation, and expecting every moment to see or hear them fired upon. I never really understood before exactly how a force advanced into the enemy's country.

You would enjoy the country too very much. For forty miles after leaving Fortress Monroe I was very much disappointed in Virginia, nothing but bad roads, pine swamps, and poverty-stricken looking villages of about three houses—but now it is very different, a fine rolling country, good farms, and what is more important to us, first rate roads.

Still I look round in vain for the indications of the F. F. V's. The houses and so on are neither large nor in fact imposing in any way. With few exceptions the proprietors have deserted them. I have picked up a mule and cart which I use to hurry on a few medical stores immediately in the rear of the regiment, independently of the baggage train, which is often several days behind us. It is a great convenience and is known as "Hugh's Battery." I am first rate. I want to hear from you much. Did you get a letter from me at "Young's Mills"? Please give my love to Mary. Good-bye. Your affectionate Brother,

NED.

BRIGHTWOOD, D. C., 20 March, '62.

DEAR FATHER, — Back again in the old spot. But not without a little real experience of what soldiering is. We had a slightly toughish taste of it over in Virginia. The latter part of it, especially the last day out and the march home on Saturday night through the mud and rain were not exactly what one would select for a pleasure trip. Really that march went ahead of anything I ever saw. And I do not care to see another of the same kind. My only wonder is that half the regiment are not down with pneumonia, typhoid and so on. But very few were seriously injured by it, although at the time many were pretty well used up. Some lay right down in the mud. As you may imagine my canteen of whiskey was brought into frequent requisition and was not infrequently filled from the stock in the ambulance.

As for my individual self I got along all right, having a good india rubber coat and a good horse. But really I do think if it hadn't been for the whiskey the regiment would have numbered decidedly less coming in than at starting. However here we are all right again, and likely to be here some days more. In fact I shouldn't be at all surprized if another week found us still in our quarters.

There seems to be great delay about transports. Charles, I take it, is home again before this. I am very glad he came on just at this time, because when we are once fairly shipped, as it seems probable we shall be, it is not likely I shall have a chance to see anyone from home for some time. He dined with me, and I dined and breakfasted with him. I have ensconced myself once more in my little establishment, and mean to be comfortable while we are here at all events. I imagine that next month will bring us weather that will make us comfortable wherever we may be — provided it's not too far South. The general impression seems to be that we are destined for some point on the Rappahannock or York rivers. But with our experience of orders and countermands it seems folly to anticipate. On our late march and bivouac all my own affairs went on very satisfactorily. Especially my boy "Hugh" was first rate. He stuck to me as industriously and devotedly as possible. He is a rare servant. He looked after my personal traps entirely, always had everything ready promptly, saddle-bags packed, horses saddled and blankets strapped on, and left me all my time to attend to my own business duties, which in the

field is everything For I had enough to do to see that all the hospital fixings, wagons and ambulances were properly transported and always in readiness, and that the men were looked after. You can easily see what a relief to have no bother or thought of my own preparations. Several of the officers were very much annoyed by the inefficiency of their servants, and all envied me much. For the last two or three days I have been quite busy preparing for our final abandonment of our present camp and taking the field. I am allowed one four-horse baggage wagon for the transportation of the hospital department. You can see it must take some close calculation to carry enough for the comfort and care of eight hundred men, especially as among it is one good-sized tent for a hospital. I am returning to the Medical Purveyor at Washington much of what I have had in use during the winter. I sent in one wagon-load today, and shall repeat it tomorrow. I would give a great deal to have a good long talk with you at home, and tell you of the many little experiences that we had over in Virginia, not much in themselves but novel and entertaining to me. On the whole I am very glad we went, vain as the expedition proved in a military point of view, for both officers and men learned something by it I think. At any rate I know that I did, and when we start again I can do it better, and I don't believe we shall meet anything much harder in the way of weather and roads. . . .

EDWARD.

FROM JOHN C. DALTON, JR.

DAWFUSKIE, March 23d, 1862.

DEAR CHARLES,—I did not get any letter from you by last mail, though I received the paper of March 11th with account of all the particulars of naval disaster-success at Newport News. It was very welcome. I have since seen one of the 12th with full confirmation of the withdrawal of enemy from Manassas and line of Potomac, and Curtis's¹ victory in *Arkansas* (our victories are getting pretty far down on the map). I remember Curtis well. Saw him on my expedition with 7th Regiment to Washington in April last. Just as the *Boston* steamboat (which is now down here on service) was pushing off from wharf in Philadelphia with us packed on board, a very seedy, dusty, country-lawyer-looking individual, with very small carpet-bag and very

¹ Samuel Ryan Curtis (1807-1866).

dingy shirt collar was seen (by me, for I happened to be looking at him at the time) trying to scramble on board from the pier posts, in which rather dangerous feat he finally succeeded. I got talking with him and found him considerably better than he looked. Said he was Colonel Curtis of Iowa (Colonel in Mexican War), Member of Congress, and I believe member of the Military Committee. At any rate, he was very anxious to get to Washington on business, had found the railroads blockaded, and so made a snap-shot for a passage with us. He looked exactly like a Member of Congress or of some "General Court," and not at all like a soldier; but it seems he has done the business for McCulloch and Price. On Wednesday evening a couple of deserters came in to us from Fort Pulaski. They were hospital steward and private, both from same Company. They got permission to take a little dugout and go for oysters a short distance from the Fort, and kept on going as fast as they could pull, till they got to our batteries on the river. Had made up their minds to escape the first opportunity some weeks ago. One is a New Yorker (the hospital steward) used to be a carpenter, is very intelligent and observing. The other is a German also a very nice looking fellow tho' apparently not quite so bright as the other. Both say they were forced into the service by outside pressure. The New Yorker was the principal spokesman, and from the way he talked it was plain he was telling the truth. He said there were 308 men in the Fort — one German Co., one Irish Co., and three "up country" Companies. A large majority of the first two had like himself entered the service unwillingly and would now get away if any opportunity offered. The other three Companies however were for making a fight and were strong enough to controul the first two. Told us about a new route they had hit upon for communicating with the fort from Savannah, by small rowboats and footing it across the marsh, since we had shut off the steamers, with our river batteries. Also said they were building an iron clad gunboat at Savannah, (which we had had inklings of before) which was to run down, pass the batteries, engage them in rear, and while their attention was taken up with her the other gunboats, towing barges and flats, with 3000 men were to run onto the shore from above, land, and take the batteries. They had had intelligence at the fort, he said, the day before, that the iron clad was ready and that the attack would be made on that (Wednesday) or the next night. He gave all the particulars very correctly. The iron-clad is a new gunboat which they had on the stocks at Savannah some weeks ago, and which they determined afterward to make

into an iron-clad, tho' at first it was intended for an ordinary armed steamer. They have 20 to 23,000 men in and about Savannah, and Brigade scattered all along the railroad between there and Charleston. The city itself is covered on the rear (away from river) by entrenchments well provided with guns, cannon having been brought from Brunswick and Fernandina, on their evacuation, for that purpose. This intelligence about the iron-clad and night attack woke us up wide awake, and there was plenty of riding round sending messages and doubling pickets that night and the next. Every gun from the batteries, we now think, is the beginning of the engagement. I went up to the batteries next morning to get the medical arrangements all right, and found the officers ready for it any time and confident of punishing the enemy. We have been re-enforced with a regiment since then, and ammunition for batteries (of which they had not quite enough for fighting with iron-clads) and are watching all the time for the banging to begin. At any rate, it won't be a surprise as it was intended and the batteries will not now be so much fooled by the iron-clad as to let 3000 men scramble on shore without being seen. On the Jones Island Battery which would be the first attacked, there is an 8-inch howitzer (beside smaller brass ones for flanking) which would make bad business with a flat-boat full of soldiers. We are looking out also for a simultaneous attack (if such should be made) on our own flank (of this island) by the enemy coming down May River or New River from the west. Last night about ten o'clock Captain Liebnau¹ sent over word to the General from Dunn's (about a mile nearer the communications than we are) that there were "three guns, apparently from our batteries," when we got up into the lookout on top of our house and watched in their direction till we were tired without hearing or seeing anything more, and came down. Soon after we had commenced to turn in, an hour or so later, came a second note, from Colonel Perry, of the N. Y. 48th, that "Capt. Coan"² (who commands the outpost on middle of west flank of Dawfuskie) "reports the enemy approaching in force to attack at Cooper River landing." He added "his messenger is a Dutchman who does not speak English very well, and I am waiting further communication." So the information brought by the Dutchman was probably "*important if true.*" However we got our horses out of the stables and poked over to "Dunn's" (a dark night and through the woods)

¹ Joseph Henry Liebenau.

² William B. Coan, of the 48th N. Y. Volunteers.

and found that the "further communication" had already been received. The affair was a blunder and no attack (at least by the enemy). Captain Coan had had a picket stationed on Cooper River, about a mile from the landing or a little over, which he had withdrawn without authority. The General had sent a Navy boat, with boat howitzer round to the same point as a support to the Army pickets. Finding no army pickets there, they went to work to picket themselves. Captain Coan seeing their firelight from the landing, gets into his boat with ten or a dozen men, pulls up to where the new appearance was, hails and not being replied to, fires into the navies. The navies then turn to and give him three shots from their howitzer — the three guns that Captain Liebnau reported. "Nobody hurt on our side," though I believe one of the sailors was injured. It's much colder here now than it was in January or February. Overcoats much of time, and always after dark. Yours truly,

JNO. C. D., JR.

FROM HENRY R. DALTON.

FORT ALBANY, 30th March [1862.]

MY DEAR CHARLES, — Your note of 27th I received yesterday and as you want to know if any thing is going on out of the way and about the movement of troops I write thus early to state that there are a very *large* number of troops towards Alexandria, 17,000 passing through Fort Runyon night before last, and that afternoon many more embarked from the navy yard. We could see them from up here with a glass quite plainly and yesterday Major Washburn was at the Headquarters of Army of the Potomac, Fairfax Seminary, and saw General Barry, Chief of Artillery, just in the midst of packing up, striking his tent, etc., so I think the final movement is not very far off. With regard to our 14th moving General Barry said that "we could not be spared at present from the forts, but that before long we might be sent to garrison Richmond and see even more active service." Colonel Greene has another regiment under his command and for the past week I have been acting as his aid-de-camp ariding round the country booted and spurred, etc., very fine. . . .

PEN.

FORT ALBANY, April 8, [1862].

DEAR CHARLES, — Glorious news we are having all day to-day, Island No. 10 and Yorktown ours with two armies captured. It seems almost too good to be all true. What can the rebels do now, and Beauregard too whipped and his army routed? It seems as if the war was drawing to a close, that the enemy would make peace on any terms. Colonel Greene even talks of disbanding a part of the army, but I'm not quite so sanguine. If we could only have a lick at them. It's a bad look for us though.

Your letter of the 3d inst. duly received, am very much obliged to you for your looking after my *things*. I expect them daily.

I have talked with Colonel Greene about Frémont. He seems to think he will find no enemy and that he is going to do a sort of police duty, but will see but little active service and I know you would get tired if you had to lie still and hearing of fighting elsewhere. The Colonel himself is itching all the time, having to stay here as he does, but he's a soldier and minds his business, but I can see it's rather slow for him although he says but little. I received a letter from Sally saying Ned was at or about Fortress Munroe. He must feel quite at home down there. Mrs. Greene is coming in a few days so the Adjutant and myself are going out into tents in front of our house; I trust will be decenter weather than it has been for the last three days, a hard storm day and night, cold, rain, sleet, and snow, but Yorktown is ours and what's the odds?

PEN.

FROM JOHN C. DALTON, JR.

DAWFUSKIE, April 9th, '62.

DEAR CHARLES, — I just received yours of 27th March yesterday by *Star of South*, and papers of 24th and 26th. I think the mails have gone a little crooked of late as I received nothing whatever from anywhere by last mail (*Atlantic*) — not even papers. However don't be discouraged because some of them don't reach me, for what I get, I assure you, are worth a great deal. I'm glad, too, on the whole that Pen is so well off in his heavy artillery regiment. General Gillmore (on whose staff I hoped to get him a place, after I found that there would be no vacancy on General Viele's) was an appointment of General Sherman's —

on his own responsibility — to take command of Tybee Island — and Gillmore himself was very distrustful of its being confirmed at Washington — which it was not; but instead came a General Order reminding military men that the appointment of Brigadiers was done “by the *President* alone, with advice and consent to Senate.” So Captain Gillmore’s shoulderstraps have yet no star upon them. However I hope they will have still, for he is a capital fellow for it, and if the Batteries on Tybee do good execution on Pulaski when they open, very likely he will be made Brigadier after all. We’ve been expecting they would be ready, from one week to another, now, for a month and a half, and last night the signal officers were sent up here to operate during the action. One is to be stationed on the top of our House (Munger’s) another at our Batteries on Jones and Bird Island (up the Savannah River), another on board a vessel off the beach and a fourth at the batteries on Tybee. The idea is for those on this side, especially on this house, to watch the shot when the batteries first open (gun by gun) and telegraph its effect to the officer at the battery, whether too high or too low or just right. So he will soon get the true range for that gun, then leave it to pound away at the fort, and go on to the next, and so on till they are all in working order. The signal officers when they came last night said it was positive that the batteries would open this morning at sunrise, but there was a tremendous rain storm just then, and I guess there were some last things, too, at the island not yet ready. At any rate there is no firing today, but we still expect it tomorrow.

The ironplated gunboat I wrote you about in my last has not yet shown herself and of course there are some now who say they don’t believe there is any such thing at Savannah; but I still think there is, though she may be intended only as a stationary battery for defence of the town, or is to come out only when we open on Pulaski. She has been seen (or what was said to be her) by two officers of the *Hale* (gunboat) at different times, lying near Fort Jackson, but, as it was in the night the nearest approach was made to her, no particulars were made out, beyond her sloping roof, smoke stack, pilot house, etc. We’ve got papers here to the 2d April and yet no news of McClellan! That’s good. It gives me more confidence in him and his operations than if we had a column of victories, in big heading type, every day since he started.

Thursday, 10th, 9 1/2 P.M.

The batteries on Tybee opened today at 7½ A.M. and have been firing all day. The view of the action is splendid from the signal station on top of house, as we can see the flash of every gun from the line of our batteries (two miles long) on Tybee, and the white round puff of the bursting shells when they explode over and about the fort. For a long time the firing was very inaccurate, as mortars are clumsy things to manage with precision, and a very little variation in the quantity of the charge or the quality or dryness of the powder makes a great difference in the time and place of explosion of the shell. Many of them burst high up in the air, some directly over the fort, or away beyond it on the upper part of the island where it is built. But this afternoon they have done better, especially the six columbiads in Batteries Lincoln and Lyons, sending some shells right into the fort, exploding them directly on the parapets or immediately above them. The breaching batteries at the farther end of the line have done the best, nearly every shot since 12 o'clock striking the parapets, and sending the red clouds of smoke and brick-dust flying where they hit. The flag on the tall flagstaff was shot away or hauled down at 11 o'clock and set up on a short one over the angle of the fort next to us. It was afterward knocked down from there, too, but set up again. But little impression has yet been made on the fire of the fort, as it replied rather timidly at first but afterward more briskly with two or three barbette and as many casement guns. The fort fires but few shell, trusting mostly to solid shot, which it throws principally at our breaching batteries. We cannot tell what damage they have caused to the walls, as the face upon which their fire is directed is turned away from us. The barbette guns of the fort however are protected by heavy earthwork traverses between them, which have been put up since the place began to be threatened, I believe. The fort is of brick, very strong, with 48 casement guns, and, I should judge, about 16 or 20 barbette, one of which is a 100-pounder rifled. It is also protected inside with "blindages" of solid timber all round, covering the doors and windows of the casements, and inclined, at an angle of 45°. Altogether it seems to be making rather a passive resistance, but it's a hard nut to crack, and I'm afraid if our mortars don't do better tomorrow than they have done today, it will take us a good while to do it. Last night General Viele had a mortar put up on the lower end of Long Island just above the fort, which

began to work this P.M. I forgot, it was landed on Long Island (which was not in possession of either party) night before last, but yesterday sometime the enemy came and spiked it and carried off all the cartridges that were with it. Last night again when our people went to finish their work and put up the parapet for it, they had to drill out the spike and replace the ammunition. Tonight we expect to get another 10-inch mortar and two 8-inch howitzers on same place, and tomorrow two 10-inch Columbiads on Turtle Island — between there and Dawfuskie — so as to take the fort sharply in reverse, and hope to do something this way to help in its reduction. For you see everything south of the fort, on Tybee Island, is under command of (Acting) General Gillmore, and everything north of it and northwest, on Dawfuskie and Savannah River under General Viele. His batteries on the river effectually prevented help reaching the fort from above, but are too far off to do any direct firing. There has been no movement today from the city, and nothing seen of the iron-clad though we heard a great deal of cannonading up that way about 3 o'clock this P.M., but which turned out to be only one of our gunboats on a reconnaissance up New River, shelling the woods, a practice which they are much given to, but which has rather a ridiculous appearance. For while infantry, on a reconnaissance, try to get along as quietly as possible, and find out all they can without alarming the enemy, the gunboats always go banging away at every clump of trees they see a mile off, for fear they should contain a masked battery. Consequently they frighten the enemy in front and their friends behind, without seeing even the hair of a man's head.

We expected the mortar batteries would have kept up their fire on the fort through the night, but it seems they didn't get the range sufficiently well for that today, and everything is quiet for the present.

Friday, 11th, 12 P.M.

Hurrah! Pulaski's *down*. Last night our batteries commenced firing again slowly about two hours after midnight, and at sunrise went at it briskly again. But the fort went at it again too, with the barbette guns as well as casement, and we thought the battle would hold out another day at least. So about 11 o'clock in the forenoon Captain Liebenau (my old friend of the Seventh Regiment, now General Viele's Adjutant) and I went up to the batteries on the Savannah River on business, coming away about 2.15. As we were leaving we found the firing had ceased for

a quarter of an hour, and the flag could not be seen. But it was too far off to make out certainly what was up, so we pulled back as fast as we could, against wind and tide, and found, on getting back to Dawfuskie, that they *thought* here the fort had surrendered, but could not tell positively, as no flag of any kind was flying though a white one had been shown for a short time when the garrison flag disappeared. General Viele had taken a small boat and, not having any of his staff with him had pulled off alone, as he said, to go to the fort. So, though it was then getting quite late in the afternoon, we (Captain Liebenau, self, and two aids) went to the Engineers' dock, took the *Mayflower* (old Boston and Hingham boat), and paddled off for Pulaski after the General. The Captain knew nothing about the channel in the Savannah, and had to feel his way with the lead, but about 7:30 or 8 P.M. we arrived off the Fort. It looked strangely silent and lonely in the dark, and as we pulled up to shore in small boat we could see no sentries on wharf. When we got on shore we found the General had not been there, but had been puzzled like ourselves at the uncertain look of things and had sheered off and gone up to our lowermost battery on Long Island. However we found a boat's crew of 3d Rhode Islanders on the pier and as we walked up to the fort passed here and there squads of the soldiers of the garrison (unarmed) loafing about, as if they had had a long and hard work, and were now taking a little ease and comfort. Nobody challenged us and nobody appeared to be in command. In fact we caught the place just in its disorganized condition, between actual surrender and formal occupation. Going into the work, we found in the quarters of Colonel Olmstead¹ (rebel commander) two of General Hunter's staff, who with an artillery lieutenant and one or two boats' crews seemed to be the only souls on the island belonging to our side. The Colonel received us very politely and was an exceedingly pleasant looking man, not more than 35, in full Secesh Colonel's uniform, gray with three gold stars on coat collar and a gold braid with three knots on coat sleeve. He told me it was our breaching batteries that play hob with him, and that the mortar shells they could have held out against, being protected from them by their heavy blindages and the ditches he had dug in his enclosure (the shells fell into the ditches, and, when they exploded, the pieces flew up in the air instead of striking his walls, or men on parapets). Also that the *James's* rifled shot were the effective ones that did nearly all the damage, the *Parrott* bolts mostly turning over and

¹ C. H. Olmstead.

over before reaching the fort. Toward the breaching batteries, the walls were badly shattered, two casements entirely gone, so that a regiment might have scrambled into the fort through them (moat filled up with the debris), the blindages splintered by the shot and the magazine in a direct line with the opening. This, the Colonel said, was what made him surrender, as a shell might penetrate the magazine almost any time after the opposite walls had been breached. We scrambled over the piles of broken brick, up onto the ramparts and through the ruined casements, and then, General Viele having arrived in mean time, concluded to go home again. Here is a plan of the batteries around the fort. General Viele did not get up his additional pieces on Long Island nor the columbiads on Turtle island, as they did not arrive in time from Hilton Head, but the single mortar on Long Island did good execution and bothered the enemy a great deal. One of its shells knocked away the parapet just behind a big barbette gun. I mean to go over again tomorrow, and see how it looks by daylight. The fort held out from 7:30 A.M., Thursday, till 2 P.M., Friday—30½ hours. One killed on our side and two wounded; on theirs four wounded, none killed.¹

Your affectionate Brother,

J. C. D., JR.

DAWFUSKIE, April 21st, 1862.

DEAR CHARLES,—I got your letters of 2nd and 12th inst. both together, by same mail, three or four days ago, . . . Just before receiving your letters, I had written you telling you of the fall of Pulaski. Went over again since, once or twice, to get a full view of the operations. The two great breaches in walls looked splendidly from the outside, and a third one was nearly ready to open when the fort surrendered. The (rebel) Colonel was very particular, I noticed the first evening I was there, to tell us that the breach in the walls alone would not have made him surrender, but that it happened to be in a direct line with his magazine and the shot and shell, coming through the open walls were beginning to tell upon the magazine itself. This "happened" so, because the breaching guns on Tybee Island were located for that particular object. As General Gilmore said, "That's the advantage of having *our own forts* to take; we know just where everything is, inside of them." I send you by

¹ For the reports on the taking of Fort Pulaski see *Official Records*, Series I. XIV. 320.

this steamer, by Adams Express, a box containing the cord and tassel of the rebel flag of Fort Pulaski. I picked it up on the ramparts, just at foot of flagstaff, the first night I was there. The flag was cut down, as I told you, by shells once or twice during the action, and we could see the place on flagstaff where one of the pieces struck, the rope ladder being cut, close by. The stem of tassel was also broken, probably by same shot. Please give it, with my compliments, to Miss McGregor. The cannon are ornaments from iron railing on fort around head of covered staircase leading onto ramparts. Please give one of them to father. I have tried very hard to get some of the arms from the Fort for you, but as yet have not succeeded. I still hope to, however, and if I do will send home by first steamer. The report to which you refer, of the fort having offered to capitulate if the garrison were allowed to go home, had no truth in it. There was no communication with the fort till the morning of 10th inst. when it was summoned to an unconditional surrender and refused. Its surrender on the 11th was unconditional, except that the sick and wounded, then in the fort, were to be exchanged at Savannah, for Union prisoners, at once, instead of being carried North. This, in fact, was rather a condition favorable to us than to them, as we did not wish to be burdened with sick and wounded prisoners, if we could avoid it. Another paragraph in the newspaper slip you sent me, is very rich, viz. the "Despatch from Charleston paper" which I enclose. I knew all about the forces on Edisto Island, as they were all taken from our Brigade, and we knew of the enemy's attack when it was made. The only Federal forces on the Island, when General Evans (with 2000 troops) "advanced" upon it, were the 47th N. Y. and 55th Penn'a Regts; the next day a reinforcement was sent up, of the 3d N. H. — in all three regiments, and certainly not over 2500 men. When the enemy's advance was first made, therefore, there were not over 1700 to 1800 men there, before whom General Evans "retired in a masterly manner."

You do not say anything more, in your last letter, about getting an appointment with Frémont and suppose you have rather given up expecting it. I take it, from what you say, that you have nearly gotten through with the "State" work, in connection with military affairs, and are a little impatient to "go in" now with forces in the field. You ask what I think about Port Royal, and I'll tell you all I can. In the first place, you would not like to be an *aid*, unless to a Major General, as the aid-de-camp of a Brigadier has too unimportant duties to suit you, or to be fit for you. General Hunter, the Major General in com-

mand of the Department here now, *had* a complete staff, but very oddly they are all within a few days ordered back to the Mississippi army, the General, of course, remaining here. I have not seen General Hunter, but am pretty sure that he was *not* sent here because he was thought the man to push things along vigorously. General Benham, who is now the Brigadier in command of the "Northern District, Department of the South" (i.e. everything which General Sherman commanded before) is, to all appearance, a clumsy, incapable old wind-bag. You know, perhaps, that he was under charges for misconduct in Western Virginia, under Rosecrans, and, I believe, they have never been settled. *I think*, we are not intended, and have never been intended, to do anything here, on the mainland, until after McClellan has fully succeeded in Virginia; but to be merely a threatening force, to keep 40 or 50,000 of the enemy employed in Georgia and South Carolina, while the really important operations of the Army are carried through further north. After a while, when McClellan and Burnside have worked down to North Carolina or through it, I guess the forces here would begin to move on, to meet them. That would explain why Hunter and Benham, who were failures in Missouri and Virginia, have been sent down here, *without any re-inforcements* (which show no sign of coming though they have been expected several times) to bang away at Fort Pulaski and such like. For I don't see any signs of moving forward, even on Savannah, any more than before. Indeed, Pulaski, to tell the truth, was not much of an obstacle to Savannah before its capture, for we held possession of the river above, and could have got at it, too, by way of Warsaw Sound, to the south, if there had been any serious design of doing so. I may be mistaken about all this, but have no doubt of it, in my own mind. General Viele has his two aids (all he is entitled to) already. He has also an (acting) Brigade Quartermaster, though I am confident he would prefer a regular Brigade Quartermaster attached to his own staff, if he were to find the right one. But, as it happens, General Viele is *going north* day after tomorrow, on the *Atlantic* (leave of absence for thirty days) and *between you and I*, if he were to find another opening somewhere else, I shouldn't be much surprised if he should get himself put into it. In that case, I should go with him. Why can't you go and see him, if it's convenient for you to be in New York within a week? His address is No. 38 West 24th St. I told him yesterday I should write you to call and see him, and he said he should like to see you very much. I have told him that you were through with home work, and ready

for something else. I think you would like him and am sure he would like you. . . . I should like it immensely if we could be together for the rest of this campaigning business. That would be worth while, would it not? By the way, when you write me, why can't you enclose Telegraphic Column of last New York paper when there is any thing of importance in it? Sometimes I should get the details sooner that way than by paper, mailed by itself.

On the day following the surrender of Pulaski, the enemy sunk six schooners and a barge in river channel below Savannah, just above head of Elba Island. Two deserters came down from Savannah this morning. They've been kept at Headquarters to-day and I've just been talking with them. Both good looking, intelligent fellows, one from New York the other from Connecticut. Both drafted a week ago into a company stationed at "Thunderbolt Battery" on St. Augustine Creek, but were allowed till today to remain in the City. This morning early they hired a contraband (for \$25 apiece) to pull them down our way. Left the city in a row boat with passes to join their company at Thunderbolt, reported, on the way, to Major commanding at Ft. Jackson, then pulled round into St. Augustine Creek, but instead of going on to Thunderbolt, turned down into "Free-born's Cut," then into another little stream, so down along shore of Mc Queen's Island, and, leaving boat and nig, (who went back to Savannah), struck across marsh to opposite Bird Island, where they hailed our picket and got over. They say drafting is being pushed hard in Savannah, that there are many from the North like themselves, who would get away if they dared risk it, in the enemy's service. That the Savannah people had no idea Pulaski could be taken, and that they are prepared to surrender the city the moment Fort Jackson is silenced. That we were confidently expected to make an attack, in force, today, etc., etc. So it's plain they are a good deal frightened, and mistaken too. Please don't show the last leaf of this letter to *anybody*. It talks too much business for that. Good-bye, and here's hoping we may get sight of each other before a great while. Yours truly,

J. C. D., JR.

DAWFUSKIE, May 15th, 1862.

DEAR CHARLES,—I got yours of April 28th and May 5th, by the same mail, a week ago, and three or four days afterward, by a different mail, your letter of the 29th. Odd, is it not, how

the letters do get mixed up? I hope you have by this time received the box of "relics" which I sent by express, as I told you. I sent, at the same time, and by same mail with my second letter after the fall of Pulaski, an express agent's receipt for the box, in an envelope by itself. If it (the box) has not reached you by this time, it must be lying in the express office at New York. Thank you for the Telegraph Columns enclosed in your letters. They brought us the first definite news of the evacuation of Yorktown. In your letter of the 29th you speak of a "missing sheet" in my previous letter. I thought I must have sent it with the others, but on taking a look over the pile of newspapers, enclosures, maps, etc., with which my table was covered, I found it lying as innocent as possible. Here it is. I'm sorry I was so careless as to forget it before, as it's a tolerably old story now, but it will help to make the rest hang together. I am more than ever certain that what I said to you in my last about our intended operations here is correct, and what you mention about Colonel Williams and the Massachusetts Cavalry is to the same effect. I am told today, also (but I do not know how positive it is), that the splendid Austrian (newly appointed) General *Seerman*, "73 years of age, but retaining all the vigor and talent which he exhibited at 50," is to be assigned to General Hunter's command. I shouldn't be surprised if he were. My own movements will depend altogether on General Viele's. If he returns, I shall stay. If he goes elsewhere I shall go too. It is still quite uncertain (at least for us) how that will be; though we look now every day for letters from him (Gen'l V.) telling us what to expect in regard to him.

Last night we got news in a very vague way (by a mail courier) from Hilton Head of the "Surrender of Norfolk." I rode about considerable after dark to find out, if I could, what basis there was for it, learned that it came by a naval officer, Paymaster of the *Western World* (gunboat) who had come up from Hilton Head, and taken boat immediately for his vessel, which was lying in the Savannah River opposite our batteries. So this morning I went up to Jones Island and out to *Western World* and saw the Paymaster, who turned out to be the bearer of the news, which he had heard the day before, of the officers on board the *Wabash* at Hilton Head. He said a steamboat, which had been lying in Charleston harbor, with six rifled guns on board (to be placed in battery somewhere along shore) had been run away with by her negro crew and brought to Hilton Head; that she had Charleston papers of the 12th, which said, Norfolk was surrendered, *Merrimack* escaped up James River, engagement at

Williamsburg with Federal success and retreat of rebels, Banks defeated, fighting at Corinth and General Pope driven back several miles by Beauregard's forces. Rather a large assortment of news to get at one time. But we are waiting to see how much of it is true. Thank you for your inquiries as to whether I want anything. But I'm so uncertain as to whether I shall come North or not before a great while, that I won't send for anything now. . . .

HILTON HEAD, May 27th.

Here we are back again at Hilton Head. There's been no chance to send North since the break in my letter, and I have been waiting to send you the latest word. Now, of course, the chance comes all of a sudden so that there's not more than half an hour to spare. The splendid three-masted English steamer *Cambria*, taken yesterday with a cargo of Enfield rifles, trying to get into Charleston, was brought here yesterday P.M. and is sent North today at noon. Dawfuskie is evacuated. Game all played through in that direction. I am Medical Director here. No time for more. Yours truly,

J. C. D., JR.

No news yet from General Viele. *Oriental* said to be ashore off Hatteras Inlet.¹

FROM GEORGE L. ANDREWS.

Camp near STRASBURG, VA.,
May 21, 1862.

MY DEAR SIR:—You may remember that, while I was on furlough last December, you said something of raising a new regiment. I at that time did not think it probable that such a regiment would be required. I have so far changed my mind as to think it quite probable that new forces may be required before long. With the experience I have gained, I should have no objections to be concerned in raising a new regiment if I

¹ "The Surgeon General has promised General Viele, (from whom I heard day before yesterday) to relieve me here, and order me to join him at Norfolk. The orders, I suppose, have really been sent me before this, but were probably on board the *Oriental*, when she went ashore on Hatteras beach, and are consequently delayed. I hope to get them, however, in a few days, and if it be possible shall run on from New York to Boston in my transit to Norfolk, for a few hours at least." Letter dated May 31, 1862.

could find suitable persons to aid therein. My idea would be to obtain if possible from the War Department authority to raise a regiment of three battalions of eight companies each, according to the organization of the new regular infantry requirements. The regiment of Colonel (now General) Geary of Pennsylvania has I believe *two* battalions. It would make a very pretty command, would have the advantage of thoroughly testing the relative merit of the two organizations, viz. that of three battalions to a regiment, and that of a single battalion. I should propose to have a Light Infantry Regiment, very carefully organized, armed, uniformed and equipped, with the baggage of officers and men reduced to the lowest practicable limit. The men should be picked men. With my experience I feel sure that I could organize a regiment that would be of great service and highly creditable to the State. There would be the further advantage in the organization into three battalions, that it would give a force nearly equal to a brigade composed entirely of battalions from the same State, which would have greater unity and be animated by a higher degree of State pride. This organization would also if extensively carried out do away with the necessity for the common style of Brigadier General. I have little doubt myself that it is the true organization. I do not of course know how you may feel about the matter now, but I should like to have your views at any time. Very truly yours,

GEO. L. ANDREWS.

Address "Gen. Banks' Army Corps," via Washington, D. C.

FROM HENRY R. DALTON.¹

HEAD QUARTERS, MILITARY DEFENCES,
SOUTH WEST OF THE POTOMAC, ARLINGTON,
June 1st, 1862.

DEAR CHARLES, — I've been trying the "sick leave" to get home to the wedding,² for I've had my shoulder dislocated the past week, but I can't make out a bad case at all. I hope to hear from you what day it is to be so that I can drink to success, etc.

I wish I could fix it so as to be at home and I might wear captain's straps *too*. This *confidential*. I am appointed Assistant Adjutant General with the rank of *Captain* and am only

¹ He was on the staff of General Amiel Weeks Whipple (—1863).

² Charles H. Dalton married, June 25, 1862, Mary McGregor.

waiting to be confirmed by the Senate to mou[n]t my captain straps.¹ So you see it's all serene, virtue has its own reward, if I'm not worthy of a 2d Lieutenancy in the great 2d Regiment. I only wish Colonel Gordon might be put into this brigade. But you must not say *anything* to *anybody* till it's fixed, for there's sometimes a "slip twixt the cup and the lip." I've bought me a fine horse, 15½ hands high, 7 years old, dark bay, long black mane and tail, \$175, and a good bargain I think. Perhaps you'll be on sometime this summer and see him. In haste. Your affectionate Brother,

PEN.

FROM EDWARD B. DALTON.

Before RICHMOND, VA., June 4th, '62.

DEAR CHARLES, — How I wish I could shake you by the hand and congratulate you on your coming good luck. I am tremendously disappointed that I cannot be with you. But it's no use to think of it. . . .

I should have written to you about this, in answer to your note, before now, but times have been so stirring I have hardly had time even to think. We have had a tough fight and I have been busy enough. I tell you, Charles, I had no idea things flew so fast even in battle. Our regiment did first-rate and suffered pretty severely. We had seven killed whom we have found, and thirty-five wounded — among the latter four officers. All our field officers are unhurt, though they were right in the thick of it. General Devens is certainly a most brave man and good officer. He was shot in the leg in the early part of the engagement, but did not leave the field till some time afterwards. He has now gone to Washington. Your friend Colonel Briggs² of the 10th Mass. was wounded, too. When he fell he told his men not to stop then to carry him off. The enemy attacked us just as the Colonel and I were sitting down to dinner, which we despatched rather hastily. At first we were compelled after some hot work to give back a little, but we soon made it up, and our forces are now considerably more advanced than before the fight. I believe we've got hard work before us to get into Richmond. I have been pretty hard at work since the battle but am first-rate. . . .

NED.

¹ His commission was dated May 28, 1862.

² Henry S. Briggs.

FROM HENRY R. DALTON.

ARLINGTON,¹ June 4th, '62.

DEAR CHARLES, — It's been a rainy day and for a wonder very little to do all day so I'll add something to my short note of Sunday. We hear as yet nothing decisive from Richmond but there's no doubt but that a terrible battle is being fought there and I trust victory will be on our side; if it is then what are the rebels to do next?

Father told me you were to go as the Quarter Master of the 4th Battalion. I am sorry to see such rashness on your part. Don't you think that [there are] a great many young men out of employment who would have done just as well and who really *needed* something to do? Of course if it had been *absolutely necessary* I would have been glad to hear of your going in so praiseworthy a cause but there are so many others, etc., etc., etc., etc. Now if you could be Assistant Adjutant General with the rank of Major or perchance Captain? But you must be satisfied with your commission as Colonel and wear no buttons.

But without joking, it must have been rather exciting in Boston the alarm Sunday. This child was busy enough issuing orders to have all "Regiments and Independent Battalions, etc., etc., in this command" ready to march at a moment's notice; but the flurry was soon over and we are going along steadily again. My appointment is all right, confirmed by the Senate and my commission as Captain is signed by Adjutant General Thomas and only waiting for Abe's name and then I mount my two bars: the General tells me to put them on right off, but I'm going to wait till my commission is in my pocket. I am perfectly satisfied (as I well may be) with the promotion and I wish nothing more till the war ends. My duties are severe but I've got the upper hand of them and every day they become easier.

I am truly sorry, dear Charles, that I must be absent on the wedding day. I would so like to see old Chelmsford and see all the folks at home but I must stick to the General while the war lasts, and he's a good man to be with, a refined man which you cannot say of all Brigadier Generals. I have his entire confidence and I've no doubt we shall get along finely.

¹ "The headquarters offices were in the large room on the right on entering Arlington House, while my quarters consisted of a wall tent pitched on the lawn in front of the house (Sheridan's monument now stands on this spot); the view from this point was fine, looking across to Washington and beyond the dome of the Capitol." — H. R. D.

My arm is getting all right fast though I shall have to favor it for a month more I suppose. . . .

PEN.

My direction at present is LT. HENRY R. DALTON, A. Ad. Gl., Care Gen. Whipple, Arlington Ho., Washington, D. C.

FROM GEORGE L. ANDREWS.

WILLIAMSPORT, Md., June 5, 1862.

MY DEAR SIR, — Your favors of 26th and 29th ult. both received. Unexpectedly Colonel Gordon has been nominated as Brigadier General and will no doubt be speedily confirmed, the military committee of the Senate having reported favorably thereon.¹ This giving me command of the Second regiment,² I of course should prefer it to that of a new regiment of same numbers. Major Dwight³ is safe, having been taken prisoner and paroled. He is now at Washington on his way home probably. General Banks's command has not suffered severely. Most of the men lost their knapsacks in the rapid retreat. We are now refitting. It was about as impudent a thing as has been done in this War for us to make a stand with only 4000 men (less than 3600 Infantry) against Jackson's force of at least 20000. Had Jackson's force been a little more active nothing would have saved us from capture. As it is his profits from his expedition are small. The figures I have given as to our force are reliable. Banks had but two brigades, Gordon's and Donnelly's. Very truly yours,

GEO. L. ANDREWS,
Lieut. Col. 2 Mass. Regt.

FROM HENRY R. DALTON.

ARLINGTON, June 8th, 1862.

MY DEAR JULIA, — I was so glad to get your nice letter of the 3d inst. and to know of all the preparations going on at home for the wedding day. I am very, very sorry I cannot be at home but I have just got my commission as Captain and Assistant

¹ Commissioned June 9, 1862.

² Commissioned June 13.

³ Wilder Dwight, who became Lieutenant Colonel of the regiment, June 13.

Adjutant-General and I'm too important an individual to be absent. It is really too bad none of us are to be there, and then old Chelmsford, I should like to see it so much. I can imagine how beautiful it must look this spring. I can tell you, Miss, that we have had great times here lately. Night before last a serenading party came along and last evening Colonel and Mrs. Greene and staff with the band came over to see us, and lots of ladies were here, and beautiful music and strawberries and cream and this poor Pimkin with his arm in a sling and his captain's shoulder straps did enjoy "*hisself*" very much. He had a select party of Mrs. Greene, Miss Bessie Greene and the Adjutant at his tent to drink some champagne and have a good jolly time, and then during the evening the band did play sweet music which pleased Pimkin's General very much. He thinks a great deal of the old 1st and it *is* far the best regiment in this command. I am getting on all right with my arm presenting however quite an interesting appearance: we are going to have the General and Staff photographed this week taken on the porch of Arlington House which I will send you when finished. It is to be published and Pimkin will be supposed to be a wounded Captain by the public.

George wrote me of your story in the *Knickerbocker*. She is coming on here I believe this week sometime, but I have not received the copy of that *Knickerbocker* you said you sent me. I suppose it will come along tomorrow or next day. . . .

Mrs. Greene is perfectly splendid, just as much so as the Colonel. She took such good care of me when I was at her house, had such nice things cooked for me by the French cook, etc. The General's family are here now. They are first rate and if we stay here all summer we shall have some good times but I'm inclined to think that there's a chance for us going into the field by and by. I hope so certainly for it is not at all pleasant to hear of my friends being killed and wounded and run no risk myself, but live so comfortably as we do here and so safe too.

I did not know anything of Dr. Sanborn's death. What was the matter with him?

My friend Fisher (you remember him, who gave me Pope's Poems) has just been here. I suspect he will present me with an elephant soon, he was so profuse in his thanks for my hospitality. . . .

The only difference between Oliver H[olmes]'s position and mine is that I am entitled to three horses and gold stripes on my trousers and could give him orders should he be under this command, that's all. I tell you there are lots of poor Lieuten-

ants and Captains, and in fact officers of all grades in this big army; better men should have come out long ago.

I wish you could see my tent so prettily pitched under the umbrageous shade of the spreading maple looking towards the rising sun, which wakes me up early in the morning and then for a half hour I listen to the singing of the birds that sing among the branches so sweet. Then I get up and bathe in some cold water which the thoughtful Sanday brings so cool and fresh every morning, and after wandering 'mid the delicious groves and gardens fragrant with blooming flowers Pimkin eats his breakfast and begins the arduous duties of the day, and in the afternoon he rides out with his General and reviews the troops who try to do their prettiest but which is not always pretty. . . .

PEN.

FROM EDWARD B. DALTON

Camp near FAIR OAKS, 36 Regt. N. Y. S. V.,
June 10, '62.

DEAR CHARLES,— The battle is fairly over and we have had time to breathe and look about and get ready for another. Each day again brings a rumor about an advance, but still we lie quiet behind our rifle pits—and to tell the truth I'm not sorry. A little rest will do the regiment and in fact all of the Corps no harm.

The battle of Fair Oaks you have read all about. It was a sharp affair I can tell you, and cost us heavily, but I guess from the looks of the field, not so much so as it did the enemy. The Colonel and myself were just sitting down to dinner when rapid and continual firing musketry and artillery, commenced on Casey's line, which was just in front of us, a quarter of mile only distant. Almost immediately came the order for us to advance to his support, which Couch's division did certainly in first rate style. I do really think if it had not been for Casey's disorderly crowd rushing back upon us, Couch's lines would not have been broken, but would have held the enemy firmly in check, perhaps giving back slowly from the sheer force of superior numbers, until Kearney and Hooker could come up. But as you may imagine it is a mighty hard thing to keep soldiers steady when a whole division are tumbling in upon them crying out that they are all cut to pieces, that the enemy are four to one, and so on. In spite of their tremendous disadvantage though, our loss shows pretty clearly that it was not fright by any means that drove us back.

In our own brigade several Companions were away from their regiments on picket duty, leaving the latter much reduced in size. Of the number who went into the fight the 10th Mass. (who stood magnificently) lost one man in four. Our own little regiment lost in killed, wound[ed] and missing fifty-six out of about 450. But they fought first rate and were the last regiment to give back, in fact came very near being cut off by the enemy.

Do you recollect our Irish friend Captain Walsh? He distinguished himself much. He commanded the Color Company. At one time when we were flanked, and a cross fire came in rather warm there was some confusion. Old Walsh drew his sword and shouted out that "begorra, he'd take the head of any man who'd attempt to leave the colors."

As our force was compelled to retreat of course my own position became more embarrassed. It was pretty sharp work getting the wounded off the field, as we were forced from one position after another that we would select as a depot, particularly as the enemy shelled the road and killed among others, several of our ambulance horses. The road was awful bad too and every now and then some team would stick fast. However we got along very well considering and left but very few wounded on the field.

Hugh was invaluable, stuck right to me all the time and was just as cool as possible and seemed highly amused at some things he saw, especially at the ducking of heads when a shell would pass over. The negro servants of the other officers were perfectly worthless, scared to death. I managed to save, as we passed through our camp, the bulk of my hospital fixings, but lost a great deal of my personal effects, among them my much loved Greggo, my rubber cloak, one pair of my red blankets, my saddle-bags packed full and my thick uniform coat. Not that the retreat of Couch's division was anything approaching a flight, but still I had my hands full to get my wounded etc. away and Hugh was busy helping me. He really was indignant when I suggested his going farther to the rear. I saw he was bound to stay, and be taken with me if necessary — and at one time it looked decidedly like it. However in this weather I don't mind the loss of my heavy clothes; and my valise with some extra things in, was safe packed in the hospital wagon. Both horses, especially Romey, behaved tip-top, and stood as steady after the first half hour as if they had been war-horses all their lives. As you know the ground we lost was promptly

recovered by our reinforcements and after the fight we had gained considerably.

The day following the battle I spent some four or five hours on the field, and it was an awful sight I tell you. The dead lay almost in piles in some places. Horses and guns and knapsacks, and shells lay in every direction. In our own tent a rebel lay stretched on his back dead. Several of my letters from Sally that were in my saddle bags were strewn on the floor. Everything else was gone. I counted nineteen bullet holes and two round shot through my hospital tent and right about within a few steps of it lay the bodies of eight soldiers and two officers' horses. A little way off, under a fly which was used as a hospital kitchen lay another dead rebel. There certainly to my mind is nothing grand about the field of battle after the fight. On the threshold of a little building which we had used to collect the wounded in, but had to abandon, sat a rebel, his elbows on his knees and his chin in his hands, stone dead. But I won't tell you any more of this long story now. . . .

NED.

STONO RIVER, June 13th, 1862.

DEAR CHARLES, — Here I am now, hard and fast, when I expected by this time to be on my way North, to be present at your marriage (you can't tell how sorry I am not to be) and spend a week or so with you at the Farm afterward. I wrote you, I believe, that General Viele had sent us word, in a letter dated May 14th, that the Surgeon General *had promised* him to send orders transferring me North. But up to this time nothing of the kind has reached me, though we have dates from New York (by the *Ben De Ford*) up to 8th inst. I don't know what the trouble can be, and still think the orders will come, but fear very much it will be too late for me to get home in time to be there by the 20th or 25th, or indeed within any definite time. I have asked General Benham twice for a leave of absence for thirty days — once a fortnight ago, and again yesterday — and this morning sent in a formal written application to same effect, all of which he refused. Says he can't let me go — serious business impending from day to day and all that. The fact is, on the 2nd inst. this expedition came to Stono River from Hilton Head, with six or eight vessels, while the remainder of the troops, (who were stationed at Edisto Island, halfway between Hilton Head and this point) were to leave Edisto at same time and march across the intervening island (John's Island), to make a

junction with us here, to seize upon James Island (forming the southern shore of Charleston Harbor) and so get a footing from which to threaten and perhaps attack the City. But the Edisto Island troops instead of getting here about same time with ourselves, were, of course, three days behind hand, owing to hard storms all the time, which carried away their landing piers and otherwise delayed them. In the mean time, we having made a landing on James Island and gone to skirmishing for safety, the enemy of course found out what we were after, and by the time our entire force had arrived, *they*, too, were prepared, and too strong to be driven away at a dash. So the affair is to be one, as I judge, of slow trenching and battery-raising and gradual crowding, and waiting for reenforcements. We have command of the river, by our forces and gunboats, for about six or eight miles from its mouth, our landing being made about four or five miles from its mouth, at the situation of a deserted enemy's battery. But I've no idea that we are strong enough to walk right ahead, in the present condition of things. I was up the river the other day to within $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles of the city and could see the spires and house tops over the trees with most enticing distinctness. It made one feel like going ahead, most consumedly, enemy or no enemy. Fort Sumter also I saw very finely the next day, from the top of farm house on the extreme right of our advance. But these brick and stone casemented forts, with water all round them, don't look so inviting. We (General Benham and staff) are still lying in the river, on board steamer, but expect to go on shore permanently in a day or two. . . .

NED.

FROM JOHN C. DALTON, JR.

STONO RIVER, June 17th, 1862.

DEAR CHARLES,—After getting all our troops up here and across the river to James Island (guess I won't put in the numbers), and four or five skirmishes of greater or less importance, we have made an attack, tried our best, and got nothing but bad bruises for our pains. You see, on the road from Stono River toward Fort Johnson and Charleston Harbor there is a village called "Secessionville" (bad luck to it), with a tall tower or look out built by the enemy just beside it, and a strong earth-work commanding the approaches from the river. This work was very annoying, opening upon our reconnoitring parties whenever they ventured two miles from the camps, and even throwing

shell occasionally from a big columbiad almost into our *upper* camp, situated four miles farther up the river than the first one, but nearer the fort owing to a bend in the stream. General Stevens' command occupied the lower camp, and General Wright and General Stevens the upper, both being under command of General Benham. The enemy also had a floating battery in the creek just by Secessionville, which was attacked two days ago by a small earthwork battery thrown up on our extreme right and abandoned by the enemy in the night. So night before last arrangements were made for a movement upon the enemy's fort at daybreak. General Stevens' command, (our right) was to move on the work (with the Connecticut light battery) to the assault, and Generals Wright and Williams (our left) to come forward to his support and prevent his being caught by the enemy's forces coming down from shore. At three A.M. we (General Benham and staff) woke ourselves up and went ashore at the upper landing, where we found the troops all in readiness and several regiments already pushed out to the advance. We were, at the camp, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the enemy's fort: and were to move forward a mile, wait there till we heard the fighting from the right well established, and then push on to his support, with General Wright's regiments and Captain Hamilton's Light Battery of U. S. Artillery. At $4\frac{1}{2}$ we were moving out through the open field, in front of the camp, then through a belt of woods, then through another open field. Some regiments passed on, to take up their positions, others we left waiting till the reserve should be needed. At 5 o'clock we heard the dropping shots and occasional company volleys on our right which showed the business had begun, and we immediately moved on, through the second field to a position just behind the hedge. We stood on horseback, while the men of General Wright's Brigade lay down behind the bushes, to get as much as possible out of the way of the shells, that began to come whizzing over into the field, plunging with a dull whack into the earth, or bursting and sending their infernal ragged pieces whir-r-r-r-ing round the lot, and into the belt of trees beyond. This fire was drawn by Williams' Brigade, which had moved to the front and extreme left, forming the first immediate support to Stevens' attack. Almost before the volleys of musketry had begun we heard cheers over toward the Village — evidently from our men and thought we had already been successful — but the firing soon became hotter and hotter, especially the musketry; and a messenger came, in about half an hour, from General Stevens with news of difficulty and repulse. The men had gone up to the fort, into the ditch and onto the

parapet (some of them), and silenced the great guns for a while, but could not get in, on account of fire of grape which had broken them too much in advancing, and prevented those who went forward from being thoroughly supported in the assault — and General Stevens wanted all the help we could give him. So Wright's command and Hamilton's battery were ordered to the front, and we moved with them to the farther edge of the third field, riding from time to time up and down. Here we could see the fort plainly, across an intervening open ground, with the men at the guns, the tall tower behind it, the light Connecticut Battery banging away on our right, and the musketry fire of Williams' regiments on our left, answered by the enemy's musketry and field pieces and their garrison gun from the left hand angle of the fort. Then we again thought for an hour that perseverance would do it, but news came from the 3rd New Hampshire (Williams' extreme left) that they were suffering very severely from an additional field battery of the enemy which had opened from their rear (the direction from which the enemy would be supported with reinforcements, if at all), and the 97th Pa. which was then drawn up behind a cover a little to our front, was thrown across to sustain them. Then an unfortunate thing happened. Directions had been left with the Navy boats in the river opposite our landing to shell the woods a quarter of a mile to our left, after the action had been going on an hour or two, to keep off the enemy, who were known to be in strong force farther up the island, from coming down and outflanking us in that direction. So about this time they began it. But whether our troops had been extended farther to the left than it had been supposed they would be, or whether the Navy did not understand sufficiently the directions, I do not know. But at any rate their shells came humming over from the river and plumping down in among our lines. I saw two that came down into the ground within thirty or forty yards of me and exploded in the ground, making a volcano of black dirt and a big hole where they struck. (When the shells explode after entering the ground they don't make the hard bang they do when they burst in the air, but a very slight dull sound and a big spatter.) The General at once sent back to telegraph the Navy to stop firing; but things had already been shaken up by it, the supports on the left had been withdrawn from their position to get them out of the Navy's shelling, and consequently General Stevens on the right was no longer in so good a condition to advance as he was at first. So he was ordered to retire, and every body felt that the game was up. The regiments were drawn in, and filed past

us toward the camp. The last wounded and killed were carried along by their comrades on stretchers and crossed fence rails, and we moved, disappointed, back to camp. The enemy did not follow us, except by their pickets, one of whom was caught by one of General Williams' staff, on the edge of the field just in front of us. From our position, I was often with the members of Williams' staff, saw Channing Clapp and George Blagden often while we were at the front, riding about with orders in an exceedingly busy and cheerful manner. I've been so busy with the wounded since that I have only had this afternoon a chance to write you. You will, I expect, get a tremendously jubilant account of the affair, from the Charleston papers. The fact is we *are* hard hit; but the disappointment is more than half the damage. Five hundred non-effectives will quite cover the actual loss. Now you can judge as well as I what we shall probably do after this. A good deal of waiting for something to turn up, I guess. If Richmond is taken (and *handsomely*) by this time, I suppose we shall get some help from Washington. If not, we shall have to hold on to our end, and show our teeth to the enemy for occupation. Write me from the Farm. Yours truly,¹

J. C. D., JR.

HILTON HEAD, July 24th, '62.

I suppose you had already gone when my letters reached home saying that I had concluded — on urgent solicitation of my New York colleagues and a growing conviction that in this Department, at least, I was not doing much for the Country's salvation, nor likely to for six months to come — to send in my resignation. That is delayed, however, now, for another month. Father, to whom I wrote a few days ago, will tell you how and why. I thought a good deal, after we got the news of McClellan's

¹ "When are the 300,000 troops coming from the North?"

"We are now in Major General Pope's command and I trust *he* will *do* something decisive. Captain Ruggles has been appointed his Assistant Adjutant General with rank of Colonel. McClellan has Buell's and Shields' divisions and must be pretty well reenforced by this time. Why were we whipped?"

"General Pope's Head Quarters will be at Warrenton in a few days. I hope he will advance on Richmond without delay, and I believe he's the man to do it. I only hope he'll take General Whipple along with him. We have now in this command about 5000 men which is a pretty large Brigade and the command extends from Chain bridge to Fort Lyons." HENRY R. DALTON, July 8, 1862.

troubles on the first of the month, of withdrawing my resignation and trying hard to get up to the Potomac Army, but concluded not to. We have had a rumor here for the last ten days, brought first by escaped contrabands from James Island, that McClellan has since then made a sudden push and taken Richmond. Nobody credited it for an instant, at first, it was so improbable; but since then the Navy people say they have had a quasi confirmation of it by news from Charleston, and are much disposed to believe it. Our people think just enough of it to make them look more anxiously than usual for the next arrival from the North, which is daily expected.

I am going to start on Saturday (day after tomorrow) for Fernandina, Key West and the Tortugas with General Terry for a Medical Inspection visit — (if they don't accept my resignation at Washington I think they ought to make me Medical Inspector, regularly appointed) — which will take three or four weeks, just about the time it will require to have my papers go to Washington, be acted on and come back.

I send you by the next boat, by express, two rebel muskets from Fort Pulaski. I and Captain Liebenau both tried hard to get them for a month after the capture of the fort and while we were still on Dawfuskie without success, but I stuck to it, and got an order from General Hunter himself one day, when I had the right chance and he couldn't very well object. They are Enfield rifles you will see marked "Tower 1861," recently received from England, to help in breaking up the Union she dislikes and fears so much. So you may consider them as a capture from John Bull as well as the Southern Confeds. I've put in the same box a piece of the telegraph wire from Savannah to Fort Pulaski, cut on Wilmington Island by two of our Captains while we were investing the Fort by the river batteries.

Love to all. Yours truly,

JNO. C. D., JR.

Steamer *Boston* is just in from the North. Richmond story gone to grief. I enclose Adams Express receipt for your box.

J. C. D., JR.

FROM HENRY R. DALTON

Head Quarters Whipple's Division,
Reserve Army Corps, ARLINGTON, VA.,
August 7, 1862.

DEAR CHARLES, — Your letter of the 12th July duly received. Since which time the Farm must have been an envious spot to dwell in. Ned seems to think so anyhow and he's a good judge of those things. I trust Ned is about strong again for he'll be needed for work pretty soon if what they say is true, that something is to be did again on the Peninsula. We are to have a large camp of instruction in front of our fortifications for 75,000 men which will make it seem quite warlike again. *We* are a Division now with two Brigades and the President came over to see us day before yesterday, visited all the forts from Chain Bridge to Fort Lyon and an awful day of it we had, certainly one of the hottest of the season, and I was in the saddle from seven in the morning till nine P.M., resting about one hour at noon here at Arlington; and then we had a review of all the troops near the Fairfax Seminary and I had three times to form and arrange. We had five regiments of infantry and seven batteries of artillery. They looked splendidly and all together it was a big thing but not on ice I can assure you. I don't care so much for a majority as I did, but still think the active life of a major in infantry is more military and would like to be kept posted as to the arrangements at home. One of our staff, a Captain, has just been offered a Lieutenant Colonelcy in one of our regiments but is not going to accept. But if in the new levy there's a chance let me know, if you please. . . .

PEN.

FROM EDWARD B. DALTON.

NEW YORK, 20 W. 29th,
Thursday, August 28, '62.

DEAR CHARLES, — I have received copy of an order, that all officers of volunteers absent on leave in consequence of illness contracted in the line of duty, who, after an absence of sixty days, shall still be unable to return to their posts shall be discharged the service, and pensioned. Next week Friday I shall have been absent sixty days on leave, so that, as I feel first rate now — much stronger than when I left you — I intend to report

on that day at my regiment. To be sure of doing this and have a day at Washington, I must leave here on Saturday next. . . .¹

NED.

FROM JOHN C. DALTON, JR.

GRAMERCY PARK HOTEL, NEW YORK,
September 14th, [1862].

DEAR CHARLES, — Was right glad to get your telegraph this P.M. saying that Pen was well and Ned getting his affairs fixed. What a *cursedly* shabby thing it was to treat him that way. Not that it would do him any harm, and I suppose he would not take any trouble to get it fixed, except for his own personal satisfaction. As for me I am getting much better since my arrival here. Can eat breakfast and walk about in a style that I did not expect to do under a fortnight at least. Now can't you find out something about my resignation while you are in Washington? I sent it to the Adjutant General's (L. Thomas) office, addressed to Secretary Stanton, with General Hunter's strong endorsement, and recommendation, about the 25th of last July, and have heard nothing of it since. I wrote at the same time a private note to Dr. Hammond,² asking him to do what he could to further it, and have received no reply or acknowledgment of it from him. I am the more surprised at this, as our relations were very intimate, and he had not hesitated to ask of me a very special favor a few weeks before he was appointed Surgeon General.

I am afraid the resignation is either overlooked altogether or that it will not be accepted for I have today received an order from the Adjutant General's office, dated 8th, relieving me from duty at Hilton Head, and directing me to report for duty at Annapolis. Now if you can find out, at the Adjutant General's office whether my resignation has been, or is to be acted on, you will do me a very great favor and enable me to make some plans for the future.

JNO. C. D., JR.

¹ September 2 he reported to Colonel Browne. A newspaper paragraph stated that he was dismissed from the service for being absent without leave. He at once stated the circumstances to Adjutant General Thomas who issued a general order on the 26th revoking the dismissal—all the satisfaction that was ever given for the blunder of some subordinate.

² William Alexander Hammond (1828-1900).

FROM EDWARD B. DALTON.

WASHINGTON, 22 September, '62.

DEAR CHARLES, — I went to Colonel Kelton¹ again today. He appeared surprised I had not heard from my affair, and said that the General told him yesterday that the order of revocation of order 125, so far as concerned myself had been signed.² He advised me to call and see Colonel Townsend, Assistant Adjutant General, U. S. A., and ask about it. I did so and Col. T. told me that the order had not yet reached him. Isn't it a deuced slow business? But as it seems a little nearer the right consummation each day, I am inclined to refrain from any outside measures still.

Poor Dwight is gone. Boston seems to suffer terribly. I have met Mr. Francis today. He has come on to meet his Son James. He asked me to go with him. I went, but James had not yet arrived. He is to let me know as soon as he does. Barlow too is wounded. I hope not seriously.

The 36th N. Y. was not actively engaged. Couch's Division was in the reserve. . . .

NED.

FROM JOHN C. DALTON, JR.

ANNAPOLIS, Sunday, October 13th.

DEAR CHARLES, — I received your letter of the 9th this morning, and right glad I was to get it you may be sure. I sympathize with you entirely in your impatience to get off; but you must recollect that you have been doing a great deal of very important work, for three months past, while I was kicking my heels, or occupied only in waiting. I wish you could be with us. I find there is *no Brigade Quartermaster*, just the thing for you above all others; but the General and his Adjutant have been expecting one to report for some time, as several have been detailed for the post from General Meigs' office. Still when you come to Washington this week, if there is any chance that you could get away comfortably, go to see General Meigs and ask him about it. You know him well enough, don't you? I've no idea we shall get away for six or seven days yet. For though

¹ John Cunningham Kelton.

² The revocation was General Order, No. 145, and was, of course, sent to every regiment in the army.

all the troops are here, (thirteen or fourteen regiments, and Sherman's Battery of four Parrott Guns and two Howitzers, which came in last night) there are no transport ships here yet, and even after their arrival I don't believe all these men can be embarked in less than four or six days, considering the horses and material which they are to take with them. My horse, whom you ask about, is first class. I've got so acquainted with him now, and he with me, I can do anything with him, and he is full of life and speed, and perfectly courageous, never minding anything, more than to prick up his ears and look at it sharp. Knowing all his qualities now, as I do, I have not seen a horse here that I would exchange him for. I am getting into the way of my business now pretty fast. There are five regiments in General Viele's Brigade. Two of them (3rd N. H. and 46th N. Y.) he says are first rate lots, and I should think another one (48th N. Y.) was mighty good quality too. I've overhauled some hundred men since I came, discharged about eighty-five for disability; made requisitions for ambulances, hospital tents, etc., etc. Tomorrow I [am] going to begin drilling the ambulance corps in using the litters, ambulances, carrying sick or wounded men, taking the machines apart and putting them together. The regimental doctors are all agreeable, and most of them well qualified for their posts. General Viele I am convinced, more than before, is up to his work. Ours is the finest Brigade of the Division. Of course he is the chief officer, until Major General Sherman arrives. Do come out and see me this week. I wish I could write longer but must shut off. Yours,

JOHN.

FROM EDWARD B. DALTON.

Head Quarters, 36th N. Y. V.,
Devens' Brigade, Newton's Div., Army Potomac,

Thursday, October 3d, '62.

7 o'clock P. M.

DEAR CHARLES,

Marching orders have just come in — start for somewhere at four o'clock tomorrow morning — don't know where — suppose down river — possibly across. I hope not the latter, for the regiment is wretchedly destitute of clothing, many without blankets, overcoats, shirts or shoes.

We just got back last night from a trip of eleven days up

river and back again to the old place here, not far from Hagerstown.

I am all right, and, thanks to the long-looked for box of your clothing, get along right comfortably. The buckling boots are magnificent, also rubber coat.

Hugh is tip-top. He's getting so fat you'd hardly know him. He is a better and more faithful servant, if possible, than ever. Both my horses are in prime order — the only ones in the regiment that are so. Nearly all the others are lamed by a disease similar to the "scratches" but much worse, the result apparently of exposure, neglect and poor feed. Hugh's face beams as he looks at "Romey" and "Mary" who were never fatter or healthier before. "Mary" is the mare I spoke of, the one I rode up from Washington, owned there by Major Rainey. He has left the regiment and I took his mare at \$175.00 having previously sold one of my own at same price. She is a beautiful, iron-gray, a splendid trotter, four years old. She is not much to look at standing still, but when moving is very stylish. She has always been with the regiment and is as tough as a knot. I have got a fine wall-tent to myself and live quite regally. I made up my mind that leading a dog's life was played out, and don't do so no mo'. But I must go and look after packing hospital wagon, etc., etc. I'll write again soon. Good bye. Yours affectionately,

NED.

FROM GEORGE L. ANDREWS.

Camp on BOLIVAR HEIGHTS, VA.,
October 30, 1862.

MY DEAR SIR,— I find myself in the following rather unpleasant position. I have been assigned to the command of a Brigade composed of new troops with some old troops that require great improvement to make them at all efficient. It is the desire of the Generals commanding the Corps and the Division that I should retain the command and bring the Brigade into an effective condition. But it unfortunately so happens that two or three Colonels in the Brigade who have just returned to their regiments hold commissions of older date than my own. There is but one way to save the Brigade from falling into incompetent hands, viz. my promotion, which might as well be made at once as wait an indefinite time. I shall be ordered to Washington tomorrow on temporary duty and propose to remain

long enough to put the thing through. I shall have the strongest recommendations from General Officers. Cannot matters be so arranged as to have the original recommendation of the Generals of the Corps, which was sent to Hon. A. H. Rice to be endorsed by the Massachusetts Delegation in Congress, sent to me at Willard's Hotel, Washington, or otherwise forwarded to help in the case? The circumstances are exceedingly favorable. Cannot be more so. It would require very little to arrange the matter. Will you be kind enough to see what can be done? I expect to be in Washington all next week unless my appointment should be more speedily secured. Very truly yours,

GEO. L. ANDREWS.

P. S. My address *here* is, Gen. Geary's Division, 12th Army Corps, via Washington, D. C.¹

FROM HENRY R. DALTON.

Headquarters, 3d Division, 3d Corps,
BELLAIR, VA., December 17, '62.

DEAR CHARLES,—No go this time. We have butted our heads against the enemy's works and have returned again to our old camp some two miles from the river. To begin the story, we received orders on Wednesday to be ready to move across the river on Thursday but the order was countermanded and we did not start till the morning of Friday, a beautiful clear day and all hands ready for a severe but as we all hoped and expected victorious battle. We halted about noon about one-half mile from the river and listened to the thundering of artillery all day and I rode with the General down to the river to the headquarters of (as it seemed) all the Generals of the Army, where we could see our shells dropping into Fredericksburg. The Army did not fire a single gun, but along the river banks the picket firing was sharp, the enemy keeping us from building our bridges. All day this was kept up, the whole army waiting to be ordered over the bridges as soon as they should be completed, but night came on and no orders with it. About dusk one brigade of Couch's crossed in boats, drove the rebs from the town, a desperate undertaking and many good fighting men were killed. The 20th Mass. was with the brigade and Henry Abbott, whom I saw on Sunday (all right), told me it was the worst

¹ He became Brigadier General, November 10.

fighting they had done during the war, charging through the streets, being fired upon from the houses and round the corners, all this in the dark and with the uncertainty of the force of the enemy. We bivouacked where we had been waiting during the day and next morning (Friday) started afresh for the crossing. (Meanwhile Sumner's Grand Division had crossed and occupied the town, sheltering themselves from the enemy's cannon in the streets behind houses and under the river bank in rear of town.) As the end of our column came over the brow of the hill coming down to the river the batteries of the rebels opened on us but we succeeded in crossing one regiment and sheltering the rest on this side with a loss of some seven or eight men and two officers of the 12th N. H. Vols. We remained there till dusk, when we withdrew our division and bivouacked for the night once more on this side. We should not have been ordered over in the first place; the town was so full of troops there was no room for us till they had moved further to the front; it was quite unpleasant, I assure you, while their shells were flying over our heads and occasionally one dropping near us. Saturday morning we met with better success. Two of our brigades crossed the upper bridges to support Couch and one at the third bridge to support Wilcox. We crossed without opposition and relieved Howard's division on the extreme right of the town, which position we held during Saturday, Sunday and Monday. One brigade (Carroll's) was in the fight of Saturday and lost about one man in nine. The rest of the Division was not in action but on picket on the extreme right of the line, but in point of fact it was worse being in the town than in the field. The danger seemed to be almost as great and I think we are well out of the wretched place. Sunday and Monday there was but little fighting except the picket fought and now and then the batteries would open, but we felt any moment we might be called upon to go to the front, and the anxiety lest their shells might *hit us* was not pleasant to say the least of it. I myself and the men of the staff were under only artillery fire, the musketry was further to the left. I am free to say I was *skered* mightily but I was perfectly well all the time and as cool as I ever was in my life, which quite surprised me. On Tuesday morning about four the orders to cross back came. We found all the troops had gone over so our Division came last and in a severe rain storm our pickets were brought in and not a man left behind. I think the retreat was superbly conducted. Why we were ever allowed to come out of that town I can't see. It is a wonder to every man in the army why the rebels did not

completely destroy the Potomac Army while they lay in Fredricksburg. What's to be done next? That's the question with all. Of course no plan is as yet settled upon but I trust we'll have better luck next time and I think now if we could have crossed and fought the first day we would have whipped them. Our men did splendidly and drove the enemy whenever they came out of their works. I can't say any more now, for I'm busy as you can imagine. Your affectionate brother,

PEN.

FROM WILLIAM HENRY MILBURN.¹

119 W. 21st St., N. Y., January 12th, 1863.

MY DEAR CHARLES, — Absence from town and ill health when at home must be my excuses for not having earlier acknowledged the receipt of your most kind note with its enclosure the draft. Your prompt kindness in making me this loan has touched me nearly.

My being without a parish for the last year, the immense amount of sickness experienced by my family for two years past, increasing expenses and seriously interfering with my lecture business together with the loss of my Southern property, have conspired to get me into this pecuniary embarrassment. I hope, however, that I begin to see my way out of the woods and believe that I shall be able to pay the enclosed note at maturity. Should anything unforeseen, however, occur to prevent this you need feel no doubt about its being paid in the Autumn or early winter. It is right that I should tell you that after long deliberation I have decided to join the Episcopal Church. The reasons that have moved me to this I shall hope to rehearse to you some fine evening over our segars. The necessity of waiting six months after taking this step before doing any clerical work is another of the causes why I felt constrained to call upon you.

Will you not come and see us when you are in New-York? There is no one we should be more delighted to welcome to our fireside than yourself. Believe me, my dear Charles, I shall ever hold in lively remembrance this act of kindness. As ever Affectionately your friend,

W. H. MILBURN.

[*Memorandum*] Mar. 21, '68. Wrote to M. at Rome, N. Y., to pay up.

¹ (1823-1903), for many years chaplain of Congress.

FROM HENRY R. DALTON.

Headquarters, 3d Division, 3d Corps,
February 12, 1863.

MY DEAR CHARLEY, — I got here safely on Tuesday last, being delayed a day in Washington in order [to] get a proper pass but had no trouble in doing so and now I'm at work again and a good deal to do. Since my departure from here the Brigade of Berdan's sharp shooters have been added to our Division; the 9th Corps have gone to Fortress Munroe; the Pennsylvania reserves have gone to Washington. Grand Divisions have bust up and a general overhauling is going on which will I believe thoroughly cleanse the Army of the Potomac and make it more effective than ever.

Do you feel like writing to Senator Wilson on the subject of Major Generals? There are to be a large number of nominations authorizing an additional number to be made. Now this will probably be done in this way viz.: some fifty or sixty nominations will be sent in to the Senate for Major Generals, out of which a certain number will be confirmed and these will be those who have friends at Court. I fear they will not altogether be those who either by rank or great deeds are entitled to promotion. For instance Sickles is one and if he should be confirmed as Major General would command this corps. Now we think our General is far more deserving of promotion and capable of commanding a corps than Sickles and should have equal chances with him. Now if Wilson, who has great influence, should cause Whipple's name to be sent to the Senate for Major General I think he would stand a good chance of getting in. Senator Hale is for him and will push his confirmation. Sickles now commands the Corps *temporarily* (Stoneman commands all the Cavalry of the Army, a corps) but should Whipple be made Major General he would command it and I think he is the best man in the Corps for it. It is to be a pull and haul, and why not our General as well as another. If you can do anything this way please do and let me know. I suppose action will be taken very soon. Please don't say anything outside. The General is a Massachusetts man, but appointed Brigadier by the unanimous application of the New Hampshire congressional delegation.

I might and might not get promotion by the General's having it, but as I know the game will be grab in Washington I think the better man should have a chance at least, and if the General

should have to be under Sickles, it would be nasty enough and I should myself feel bad about it and the whole command would too.

I write this without the knowledge of any but Captain Hall and we are both very much interested in putting the thing through if possible. Captain H. goes to Washington tomorrow. I think if Wilson and Hale should be *for* the General he'd be made Major General and perhaps your humble servant would become a Lieutenant Colonel, but don't think I'm writing for myself, for I am not at all, but the commanding officer of a corps should be a better man than Sickles. . . .¹

PEN.

FROM EDWARD B. DALTON.²

FORT MONROE, VA., 15th April, '63.

DEAR CHARLES,—Here I am dropped into an old familiar spot. I should have written you about the change in my affairs before this, but I knew that you were off and did not know where a note would reach you. By this time, I take it, you're back again at 59. Mary is well, I trust, and you all right. I got orders last Friday to report here. Spent Friday night with Pen, left my mule and second horse with him, as well as some extra fixings and started for Washington with my grey mare on Saturday morning. Got there at night, put up at Willard's, and started mare and boy off toward Baltimore over the road Sunday

¹ "No definite movement of the Army yet proposed. I'll tell you what I think, though. In about two weeks the Army crosses the Rappahannock some ten miles below Fredericksburg, by a forced march endeavors to turn the enemy's right flank and beat him back eno' to reach Richmond before he has time to retreat to its defence, the Army to be fed from different points along the Rappahannock and York Rivers by feed now said *to be* on transports. They say fifty days' rations for this Army are now loaded and ready. What do you think of my plan of operations? . . . Day before yesterday 80,000 infantry and the day previous 15,000 cavalry were reviewed by the President and the troops looked superbly. Hooker has a finer army than the one Mac began with, and he has confidence in it and it has confidence in him as a leader. We must whip them this heat." April 10, 1863.

² "I am all right in my new position. My Commission as Assistant Surgeon, U.S.V., arrived last Sunday. I acknowledged and accepted it at once, and tonight I have received my promotion and appointment as Surgeon, U.S.V. So they've been pretty prompt about it. I am ordered to report by letter to Surgeon General. Then, I suppose, my orders for duty will come forthwith. I hope it may be to a hospital. But if they still keep me in the field, I hope they will leave me where I am." EDWARD B. DALTON, April 2, 1863.

P.M. and followed by rail myself on Monday. Put up at Eutaw Ho., found boy and mare there ahead of me. Next day (yesterday) left by afternoon boat and got in here all right, mare, boy and all, this morning. Raining like Old Nick, with pretty good prospect for same thing tomorrow. Have reported, according to order, to Medical Director here. He does not assign me definitely today, as the news of the enemy threatening Suffolk makes things a little uncertain. This "Department of Virginia" takes in this post, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Yorktown. I rather think I shall be sent to Suffolk, which you know is twenty miles inland from Norfolk by rail. I am pretty certain to be sent there tomorrow if there's news of fighting to any amount.

Things here about the old Fort look pretty much as when you were here, except the Hygeia is taken away, which decidedly improves things I think.

O'Leary was very sorry to have me ordered away and remonstrated against it, but no use. It was not without its sadness, I assure you to leave those I had always served with, and served with so pleasantly. Nothing but the hope of being situated so as to have Sally with me, compensated for it. But that looks somewhat doubtful for the present. . . .¹

NED.

FROM FRANCIS C. BARLOW.

Headquarters, 1st Division, 11th Corps,
Army of Potomac, June 2nd, 1863.

MY VERY DEAR CHARLES,—I hope you have not inferred from my silence that I do not love you, for I assure you that when I look upon the miserable beasts that I have about me I re-

¹ "I will find you a contraband of the right sort in course of week. I cannot put my finger on exactly the chap just now, but the Doctor who has charge of them—a good fellow from Massachusetts, by the way—will help, and between us we will soon pick up one that gives promise at any rate. That's about all the best of them do. You mustn't expect them to be like servants trained at the North. Their whole bringing up has been very different. One curious thing about them is, that their very conviction of their own inferiority, as well as their former habits, often makes them behave in a way which, in a white servant, would be offensive familiarity. They seem more like a kind of a domestic animal. But they learn your ways quickly and some of them are very smart. . . .

"I have been temporarily assigned to duty as Medical Director of the Department, during Dr. Gilbert's absence for few weeks. Not bad to have it happen just now, as it throws me at once into contact in business with all hereabouts."—Edward B. Dalton, May 28, 1863.

joice to think that there is such a place as Massachusetts and such excellent young men as Mr. C. Dalton.

I presume you have heard something of my fortunes since I left Massachusetts. First I commanded a Brigade in this Corps and was fortunate enough not to be among the runaways on May 2nd.

Now I have command of the Division lately commanded by General Devens. It was the first to break on May 2nd and is in a most disgusting condition as to discipline and morale. But if hard knocks and a tight rein will make them fight they will have to do it. One of the Brigades is wholly German and is commanded by Colonel Von Gilsa (or rather it is now commanded by a Major as Colonel Gilsa is away and I have the next Colonel in rank in arrest). I expect to have to arrest them all the way down until I find some private soldier who will make them do things properly. The other Brigade has three Ohio and one Connecticut Regiment. It is all American. Over this last named Brigade I have General Ames, the last appointed of the Brigadier Generals, a most admirable officer who graduated at West Point in 1861 and who has a very high reputation. I have just come in command and am working hard.

I wish you would write me and tell me of all my friends in Massachusetts. I hear that Ned has gone to Fort Monroe. Is it so? I have seen no one of my friends here except Higginson, C. F. Adams and Channing. The latter is an Adjutant General in the Department and is on the staff of General Benham so that I cannot have him unless I have a vacancy in that Department. My brother is now with me and does very well. . . .

FRANCIS C. BARLOW.

FROM EDWARD B. DALTON.

Casemate No. 5, Third Front, FORT MONROE, VA.,
June 11th, 1863, 5 o'clock P.M.

DEAR CHARLES,—We have just finished our first dinner in our new quarters. We moved in bag and baggage this morning and were hard at work on screens etc. when, to our much joy, the carpets arrived.

The energy of the establishment increased proportionately and we are now quite elegant. Front room carpeted. "Joe," intelligent contraband, will have the curtains up in about five minutes and we shall have the coffee biggin going about seven o'clock,

when we should be all right, if only Mary and you could drop in and tak' a cup with us.

The ladies in the fort are very cordial in their welcome to Sally and there seem to be several very pleasant ones among them.

The carpets are first rate — just the thing. We rather expected from your letter to see something on the heavy landscape order. The larger one, that on the front room, meets with great approbation. The other isn't down yet, but will be before another twenty-four hours.

Thank you very much for your offer about sending regular supplies. However, I don't think that'll be necessary. We won't be sure till we try, and I assure you we won't be back'ard in coming for'ard when we run short.

In one thing you libel our quarters, when you talk about a stone floor, both floors are good pine boards.

About sending the buggy and harness, if the *S. R. Spaulding* happens to be coming, as she not infrequently does, that would be a good way.

I tell you, we should like to run up to Farm, tho' I'm afraid the sight is rather small for it this summer. Sally sends love and many thanks to both of you and thinks if you could see our establishment you would envy it. One lady came to call just as we got our carpet down and our screen up. Said it was like a brown stone.

Dr. Gilbert has not gotten back yet, though I am expecting him now every day.

You better stick to the old address, or rather address me thus, Surg. E. B. Dalton, U.S.V., Med. Director's Office, for my position as Director is but temporary.

The Niagaras are a great luxury. Please, when convenient, let me know the amount of the cost of all these traps.

By the way the A. A. G. here, Lieutenant Colonel Pelouze, who has treated us with marked kindness and without whose personal interest we might have waited some time for our quarters, has been quite ill and under my care and is about to go North on sick leave. He tented with John a while in Department of the South. He thought he might run on to Boston, and I gave him your address. He is a regular officer and has their peculiarities — McClellan man and so on. But he is a nice fellow and, as I say, has been especially handsome in his treatment of us. He was with Banks at one time. Was severely wounded at Cedar Mountain. He says he shall go and see John in New York. . . .

NED.

FROM HENRY R. DALTON.

Headquarters, 1st Brigade, 1st Division, 3d Corps,
INCHFIELD near BEALTON STATION, June 14, '63.

DEAR CHARLES, — Our old 3d Division was broken up and consolidated with the other two divisions of this corps on the 11th inst. I was ordered to report to Headquarters, 1st Brigade, 1st Division as A. A. G. and orders to move all came at once. So here I am reduced to a Brigade A. A. G.; but it's a fine brigade (General Graham in command), and I shall remain with it till this movement is over as it wouldn't do to ask to be relieved now, but meanwhile I shall send to General Couch (now in command of the Department of the Susquehanna, Headquarters Chambersburg, Pa.) the approval of my brigade division and corps commanders (I have already got the written approval of General Graham, Commander Brigade, and of my Division Commander) to my transfer to his Department and with this he will obtain my appointment to his Staff. He was first rate to me on his return and I should have been with him had he remained in command of the 2d Corps, and he promised to apply for me should he be sent to another Department, which he evidently thought he might be, so I feel sure of leaving this Army as soon as we are quiet again for a few days.

Where we are going or what we are going to do now I don't know, but I guess it will come out all right. Any how if I get with Couch (as I have no doubt of doing) I shall be satisfied. Won't it be fine, at Headquarters of a Department, and such a Department too? . . . [PEN.]

Headquarters, 1st Brigade, 1st Division, 3d Corps,
(In the field) CENTERVILLE, VA., June 18, '63.

DEAR CHARLY, — Here we are again. Why or when we are going, or what we are going to do, etc., etc., etc., I don't know nor do I pretend to guess, but that we are ready for anything I am sure. Your letter of the 7th inst. just reached me this morning. I had received no letters for two weeks and the lot that came to hand all at once was very pleasant, I tell you.

You will see by the date of this that my status in the Army is a little changed since I last wrote and not exactly as I should wish; but I feel it was all the luck of war and that presently it will be all right. You see the very night Couch was ordered to

Washington to take his new Department I saw him (before he knew anything of his going), and he promised to ask for my transfer to the 2d Corps and added, that if by any chance he should not remain with the A. of P. he would try and get me; anyhow he was very kind and said he wanted me very much on his Staff. Now you see everything being upside down I can't get out of this Army quite so well as if we were in camp, but I have the approval of Graham (commanding this Brigade) and General Ward (commanding Division) to my transfer to another Department, and now only remains to get the approval of the Corps Commander (General Birney). I saw him in relation to it before sending the paper to him, and he was a little huffy at first, but somewhat relented, and told me to send it along, that if General Graham approved he did not know why he should object; but you see this creature Major General Birney of all things in this world wanted this very Department that was given to General Couch, and he may refuse to approve my transfer and thus stop it for a spell till Sickles gets back; but should I get it with all these approvals General C. will apply to the War Department and I shall be with him. I feel that a month will see me at Headquarters Department of the Susquehanna. As for the present I feel I'm doing my duty and as the Division was consolidated and I was ordered here at the same moment ordered to march I could not of course make any row (as I otherwise should have done had we been in camp) about being reduced from Division to Brigade Headquarters. . . .¹

PEN.

FROM EDWARD B. DALTON.

WHITE HOUSE, VA., On the Pamunkey River,
June 27th, '63, Saturday Night.

DEAR CHARLES,—Here I am once more on the peninsula. You got my hasty note from the Fort just as I was starting. Well we left there Tuesday last about 8.30 P.M., proceeded to Yorktown, where we lay until yesterday about noon, when we came up the windings of the Pamunkey and reached this familiar spot at 5.30 yesterday afternoon. The 11th Penn'a Cavalry had preceded us and immediately upon landing had started on a scout and raid toward Richmond. We were landing troops here and preparing for "On to R." today, and this afternoon to our great

¹ On June 24 he went to General Wright's headquarters, 1st Division, 6th corps.

relief the Cavalry came in on the home stretch, having done a pretty handsome piece of work. They went close to Richmond, charged upon the enemy guarding the bridge across the South Anna, forced them to retire, took and brought back with them a hundred prisoners, some two hundred horses and mules, sixty army wagons, and \$20,000 in Confederate scrip, having captured a government agent. Among the prisoners is General Wm. Lee, son of General Robert Lee. The prisoner owned this very estate upon which we are now encamped. He was found in a house near Richmond, convalescing from a wound received at Chancellorsville.

I suppose we shall now move forward with as little delay as possible, though I'm afraid the chance of getting to Richmond before the arrival there of the enemy's forces in strength enough to hold it is small. Isn't it a little odd that I should have another peninsular campaign? I am very well, and have no fears that this short sojourn, for it will probably be no more, will renew any of my last year's trouble. . . .

NED.

Headquarters, Army of Virginia, WHITE HOUSE,
July 1st, '63.

DEAR CHARLES,—As you see I am still on the old ground again. A week last night since we left the Fort. With the exception of the successful cavalry raid I wrote you of, our troops here have lain entirely quiet until early this morning, when a pretty heavy proportion of the whole force started on a sort of reconnaissance in force, but ready for anything that might turn up. The force comprised cavalry, infantry and artillery. Generals Keyes and Getty went with the expedition. General Dix himself, with some reserve troops remains at this point, which is the base from which he acts. I am here as Medical Director of this Army of Virginia, or whatever you may call it. And as most of the troops have seen no field service before, I have plenty to do.

Dr. Gilbert is at the Fort. He was up here for a day about a week ago and I suppose as long as we stay here, will run up now and then. . . .

NED.

P. S. This place looks quite like a post, a wharf built, locomotive brought up, cars running, etc. etc. Today has been the first fair one since we landed here. I don't speak of it as anything remarkable but merely as a fact. Good night.

NED.

FROM HENRY R. DALTON.

Headquarters, 1st Division, 6th Corps,
in the field, July 6, 1863.

DEAR FATHER, — All right so far. We came up to Gettysburg on the afternoon of the 2d and into position, but were not engaged although we were expecting it every instant, and under tremendous shelling, as also the 3d and 4th, so that this largest Corps is fresh for the enemy if we catch them. Yesterday morning (the 5th) we started in pursuit, occasionally shelling their rear guard as we came on to it marching towards Fairfield where we arrived last night and had a little skirmish with but little loss. I hope and expect we shall fight them again before they recross the Potomac. We defeated them at Gettysburg with great loss on both sides but we had possession of the field and they have retreated.

In haste. Your affectionate Son,

HENRY R. DALTON.

I am very pleasantly situated with General Wright and like him very much. Love to all. I'll write again soon.

FROM JOHN C. DALTON, JR.

NEW YORK, Tuesday, 14th [July 14, 1863].

DEAR CHARLES, — I have just received yours of 12th. The fact is, there has not been, since my return, *one single day* when I could print my photographs. Have been often all day on board transport steamer, been twice to Portsmouth Grove (just beyond Newport) with sick and wounded, and am still at it worse than ever. Today I'm in command of an Infantry company, that I got from Bedloe's Island, and armed and equipped from Governor's Island, to protect the steamer, and prevent the mob rescuing some 500 rebel prisoners (wounded) whom we were waiting for. Tonight I go to Philadelphia (by sea) on a similar mission.

The riot is still going on, but I think things are looking much better than yesterday. Military force in some shape and citizens taking some measures for protection.

I am quite well, and ear nearly healed. Have had no trouble from it.

Am in some haste, as steamer is coaling, and I wish to start at earliest moment.

Yours truly,

J. C. D., JR.

FROM JOHN C. DALTON, JR.

Headquarters, 1st Division, 6th Corps,
WILLIAMSPORT, MD., July 14th, 1863.

DEAR CHARLEY, — Your note of the 6th inst received. Ere this your anxiety on my behalf must be quieted by my letters to Father and yourself. We had very little to do with Gettysburg and under fire but of shells and of those but a few. We have driven the enemy from Maryland. I suppose the country will howl at Meade for not bagging the rebel army but it would not have been practical. General Lee is a general and his retreat has been conducted most admirably, retiring to strong positions each time he withdrew. Had we attacked him in any of these positions we should have commenced a fight with the advantage on the enemies' side very decidedly and very likely too would have been beaten, which would not have been policy just now, and Meade I presume concluded not to risk it, and I believe he knows best and did the right thing. The enemy crossed the river this A.M. at eight and we arrived at this side at 10 A.M., so you see we have kept up with him pretty well. What we are to do now, whether we cross tomorrow or not, I don't know but will write you again as soon as anything turns up. I am all right, have got rested and cleaned up and this afternoon we are all very chipper, for the feeling that the Potomac separates us is a great relief after the few weeks excitement of being face to face with the enemy and a fight imminent any moment.

We lost a good many pieces at Gettysburg battle but it was a glorious battle if there is such a thing, but I'll let the glory slide if the war will end and fighting cease. Things look bright. Send on the 300,000 draft and this autumn will tell a big story. . . .

PEN.

FROM JOHN C. DALTON, JR.

NEW YORK, Saturday, July 18th, [1863].

DEAR CHARLES, — I returned last night from my expedition after rebel prisoners, having deposited 500 and over of them at David's Island. A pretty ragged dirty-looking set — mostly. Their dirt isn't accidental mud on their clothes and boots, like that of our men, but accumulation of animal filth on clothes and bodies, that breeds *maggots* on the skin, in place of lice

and fleas. I start again, in an hour, for another lot. The riots, as you see, are about over, practically. There's a howitzer trained down 21st street at the corner of the Gramercy Park Hotel, and two companies of Cavalry are camped in the park in front, horses picketed to the iron fence around it. Things look healthy, omnibuses and cars running, and drays with goods going about the streets, interspersed occasionally with blue battalions, and artillery looking right and left in front of City Hall. I've just received a letter from Ned, back at Fortress Monroe, the 2d grand Peninsular Campaign being over, and nobody hurt much. Here's a couple of rebel notes which I got from prisoners, "Two years after a treaty of peace," etc. You can demand their value, if you want to. Yours truly,

J. C. D., JR.

FROM HENRY R. DALTON.

Headquarters, 1st Division, 6th Corps,
WARRENTON, VA., July 31, '63.

DEAR CHARLEY,— My traps arrived safely last night. Many thanks for them. I have been today swelling in a biled shirt, smoking good segars and reading a pleasant novel.

There have [been] some movements taking place today and our Corps will change position tomorrow, but from appearances tonight we are not to attack the enemy, but it looks a good deal as if we were to be stationary for a little more. Visions of ten days in Boston, Chelmsford and Rye arise to the meditative mind. I shall have all my returns for this month in tonight and nothing but the routine for a few weeks, so that if any are granted I shall go in for a few days' leave. I am glad to learn that the draft will be put through in the North. They seem to be afraid of the New Yorkers yet, four of the largest regiments of this army were sent there today.

I think I should like the active Bootts for orderlies at Headquarters. It must have been queer enough holding the Works with military. What rank did you give Maskey? Sam [had] better organize another Battery for home use. Charleston not yet ours and General Wright says it will be the hardest point to gain in this war and I guess he knows something of the nature of the animal. The General is thought much of here and it is very freely remarked that he has not the command he should have; he and Sedgwick are very good friends and I'm inclined to think that old Sedgwick likes to have the General near him.

PEN.

FROM EDWARD B. DALTON.

FORT MONROE, VA., August 2d, '63.

DEAR CHARLES, —

Yours of 26th were glad to get. 'Twouldn't have been so bad to have had a rap at a few rioters at M. just to show 'em 'twas no use to try it on there.

We are still in *statu quo*. I not being yet assigned to duty, the everlasting change that Gilbert was forever looking forward to, having just come in the most unexpected — and to him unwelcome — shape of an order relieving him from duty as Director of the Department and putting in his place a Dr. Sutherland, Surgeon in [the] Regular Army. The latter has not yet arrived, but I hope will soon. I cannot say I am sorry at the change, for I have gotten tired enough of this style of doing business, and Dr. Gilbert seems incapable of doing it in any other.

In my last personal report, stating post and duty, which we are obliged to furnish the Surgeon General, the last day of each month, I stated that I was assigned to no duty here, which is not unlikely to bring an order removing me from the Department. However as the latter has just been very much enlarged, and a new Director just appointed they may let me alone until Dr. Sutherland shall have rearranged matters. He is expected in a few days. . . .

Our new Department Commander, Major General Foster, has arrived with Staff and is making no little commotion among the occupants of quarters hereabouts. His Staff is larger than General Dix's. As soon as I receive any order either taking me away, or assigning me to duty here, I'll let you know. I want much to hear from John. What is he doing? . . .

NED.

FROM JOHN C. DALTON, JR.

NEW YORK, August 5th, [1863?]

DEAR CHARLES, — I've had a chance to print some photographs at last, which I send you today, by express. Let me know if you like any of them well enough to want any more, and I will print again, as soon as I have time to do so. None of them satisfy me exactly, but I think the side view of the house

is the best. "Grip" turns out better than I expected. I think I can print your portrait (the full length with scythe) better another time, by fixing it a little. My portrait, you see, is bad, and Mary's not nearly so good as I expected. Please give some to Father. Some skulls I have put in, for Julia, and whoever else likes them. They are the best pictures I have made yet. I have sent photographs of farm, etc., to Ned and Pen. . . .

I'm not going to Washington, after all, I'm happy to say. Hammond's school is deferred for a month, owing to work on building not being finished so soon as he expected, and he has let me off altogether, as to go to Washington so late would interfere with my regular lectures here. I must say, it's something of a relief to me, as I did not fancy two months in the National Capital, when it came to close quarters. . . .¹

J. C. D., JR.

FROM EDWARD B. DALTON.

Chesapeake General Hospital, U. S. A.
Near FORT MONROE, VA., August 16th, 1863.

DEAR CHARLES, — We've been expecting to hear from you, but I have been so busy breaking into harness here that I've hardly had a moment to write since my note a week ago.

It is just a week today since I took charge here formally. Sally I brought up in the afternoon and she has been here ever since. It is a right pleasant situation, though a very responsible and pretty laborious one.

The investigation into the charges brought against Dr. Stocker, the Surgeon formerly in charge, has not yet even begun, and of course there's no telling how it'll turn out. Meantime we are living with the Doctor and his family in the cottage. They are right pleasant people, and in spite of their disagreeable position, make themselves very agreeable.

¹ "Sent Ned the other day, New Gospel of Peace — read it, it's good. Also Estvan's War Pictures from the South, which I sent him afterward. It reads well, not quite first class, but good second class book. Estvan is an adventurer, as you'll see. When he came North, wanted to sell himself to our government for what he could get, but Government wouldn't trade. So Detmold says, who saw him. I should have thought better of him from his book if he hadn't praised General Heningsen so much, who is a bogus hero, of first water. Draft is going on here all quiet. The roaring mob still as a mouse, owing to battalion of tawny veterans and battery of three-inch rifles in Madison Square and elsewhere." John C. Dalton, Jr., August 23, 1863.

I begin to doubt whether I shall ever get into a definite decided place while I am in this department. However, things look much better since our new Medical Director took hold. Surgeon Charles Sutherland U. S. Army — regular — relieved Dr. Gilbert some ten days ago. He seems to be of the right sort. At any rate he's a straightforward business man. This row about Dr. Stocker occurred just then and Dr. Sutherland sent me right up here. . . .

This is a very large and handsome place situated right on the harbor, about two thirds of the way between the Fort and Hampton. You may remember the main building. It has a large cupola and is the only building of a conspicuous size in the country-side, formerly was a young ladies' seminary. I will write soon again. Let's hear. Your affectionate Brother,

NED.

FROM HENRY R. DALTON.

Headquarters, 1st Division, 6th Corps,
WARRENTON, VA., August 26, 1863.

DEAR CHARLEY, — Your letter of the 21st inst. I received today. We have been so very quiet and we have had so little to do of late that I've had nothing to write about. This lying in camp comparatively idle is the hardest part of life in the army and I often think I might just as well be at home working in some civil capacity. Your letter is therefore hard to answer, as I think I must answer it by saying I cannot give up the profession of arms yet, not until we can see the end pretty clear. Perhaps I cannot tell exactly why but I should not feel comfortably about it. Not that there are not enough men to step into my shoes but somehow I think all who are now engaged in this business should stick it out and see the thing through. There are very many who "want to go home," who are tired of the life of a soldier and they are getting off on one pretext and another, and it seems to me that all who can, ought to stay: it may be an idea that I couldn't be at home comfortably and read the newspapers without being mad with myself at having left the field. General Couch wrote me while we were on the march that when matters were quiet and I wished still to serve with him he would write to General Meade and arrange my transfer to his Department, but somehow I cannot make up my mind to leave the Army of the Potomac for a Peaceful Department in

Pennsylvania. Another winter in the mud will be disagreeable enough, but I trust this fall's operations will put us in possession of Richmond. I would ask nothing more than to be associated with you in business and I feel of how great advantage it would be to me. I know too that a position at Manchester would be the thing of all others to make a business man out of me. I can easily see its value and believe I would succeed through hard work and thinking o' nights such as you used to do, but I should have you to back me while you did all alone. As far as the society goes I confess to a little hankering after Boston and knowing and meeting nice people. This however would be a secondary affair, though of considerable importance after all, but I would give it up for the sake of the greater benefit. It seems a golden opportunity, but feeling as I do it must go by and I must fight the enemy and ennui till the war is so near ended that the government needs no armies in the field. I shall come home as soon as I can do so after the thing is done up enough to warrant men leaving the field, and it seems now that that festive occasion might come within twelve months from now. When it comes I shall be glad enough and will go home and hang up my weapons as gladly as any. Perhaps some other chance may turn up by that time. At any rate we pay our money and must take what comes. The fact is, Charley, I could not be at home contented while the fight is going on. I should keep thinking of it and I should be like a fish out of water. I have, as you say, been over a year and a half a soldier, but as to doing my share compared with some of my friends who have been killed or lost legs or arms and made cripples for life, I can't take much credit to myself on that score. Not that I covet any of these misfortunes but I should feel like a deserter should I leave now or before the end is nearer. I should like to talk the matter over with you and I will write again in relation to it.

We had quite an affair here yesterday. General Sedgwick was presented with a superb horse and equipments and a magnificent sword. General Meade and staff were present, as were a number of officers from the 2d Corps and our own. After the ceremonies were over a big thing in the way of a repast was served. Altogether it was a very jovial occasion.

Nothing new here in the way of movements. We are anxiously awaiting news from Charleston and from our western armies. I hear my friends Holmes and Weld have been made Lieutenant Colonels. Give my love to Mary. Your affectionate Brother,

PEN.

FROM JOHN C. DALTON, JR.

NEW YORK, August 28th, [1863].

DEAR CHARLES, — I got your telegram today — sorry you can't go.¹ I hope to see Charleston before my return (which I think will be within four weeks) and thought you might like to go there too. It's on "temporary service" I am ordered, with thirty-five other doctors, and a cargo of five thousand beds and medical stores to match. I am assured that I shall be sent for to return right away — probably come back with a lot of sick and wounded. We have the ship (900 tons) all to ourselves. No other passengers and no other cargo. Some good fellows are going. I received your letter of 23d, also sword by express. Have not yet heard from Pen. I sent you the other day new lot of photographs by express.

Here is design for seal. Something you see in emblematic line. Altar with flame — activity of physical forces useful to man. Individual on one side with book — scientific investigation. Individual on other side with hammer and anvil — practical execution. And finally names on slab. (*Whitney* was the name of the Cotton Gin man, was it not?) Perhaps you can pick something out of it to work into your seal. Perhaps not. At any rate, I wish to compete.

J. C. D., JR.

HILTON HEAD, September 5th, 1863.

DEAR CHARLES, — We got down here on Thursday, having left New York on Sunday; delayed about twenty-four hours by engine of steamer blowing off cylinder head when about 75 miles north of Charleston so that we had to work down rest of way under sail. It happened, by good luck, to be a northeasterly wind at the time, or we might have been wabbling about there at sea till this time. As it was we stopped off Charleston Bar to get a tow down to Hilton Head, but did not succeed, so we came on by ourselves. Could see Fort Sumter, pretty well banged to pieces but still not in our possession. But Sullivan's Island is still alive with batteries. They tell me that it is Sullivan's and not James Island, where most of the Sumter's guns have been

¹ He was ordered to go to Port Royal for temporary duty on the steamer *Constitution*.

taken to, and where the greatest obstacle to the navy (after Forts Wagner and Gregg) is now presented. I am going up to Morris Island tomorrow to take charge of the medical affairs there for the present, but still hope to be home again in the course of two or three weeks. I brought enough traps with me, I believe, to make me comfortable for that time, and already have met quite a number of my old friends of a year ago. I mail this today, as I may not have a chance to send down here again before the *Arago* sails, but will try to write again from Morris Island, if possible. Yours truly,

J. C. D., JR.

FROM HENRY R. DALTON.

Headquarters, 1st Division, 6th Corps,
September 10, 1863.

DEAR CHARLEY,—Yours of the 1st and 6th received. Good news from Charleston and Chattanooga tonight. Gradually but surely the rebel lines are drawn in. Where I wonder is Bragg bound? Perhaps to Charleston, perhaps to Richmond: it does seem tonight as if twelve months more would make the rebs back down.

I thought you would agree with me in deciding to stick to the U. S. service for the present. You certainly would had you been in it. I thank you for saying that my interests are being cared for while I'm away and I feel sure that something satisfactory will turn up by the time I can get home for good, and should a foreign war succeed this I think I should pay another fellow to fight for me except under extraordinary circumstances.

John must have left quite suddenly and he will be in time for the surrender of Charleston. By Jove won't it be splendid when that cursed city does cave: It seems as if then the tug of war might come up this way, and should this Army be made strong enough a big campaign would ensue this autumn. However what is to be will be. . . .

I think a grand combination movement is contemplated for no officer or soldier is allowed away on any pretext but sickness—not even for twenty-four hours. I enclose a curious extract from the *New York Tribune*. Perhaps you have seen it. It may be all nonsense but if true a very strange thing. . . .

My General was ordered to West Point but wouldn't go: it was a relief to me when I heard he was coming back, which he did two days after leaving here.

We are still carrying on the war as quietly as possible and begin to wish for a move but I reckon it will come in good time, whether we want it or not.

So it has been gay at Rye? I'd have been happy to have added to its gaiety by my personal presence had General Meade been willing, but as all applications for leave were returned "disapproved, the exigencies of the service require all officers to be present with their commands," I have not tried it on.

PEN.

Headquarters First Division Sixth Army Corps,
In the Field, 2 miles west of CULPEPPER C. H.,
September 17, 1863.

DEAR CHARLEY,—Yours of the 13th inst. received this afternoon. Here we are again on a forward movement, having left Warrenton on the afternoon of the 15th and yesterday after a hard march of twenty miles we arrived here at midnight, but we are now comfortably in camp and awaiting orders. The Army is concentrated at this point on the Culpepper and Sperryville pike, our corps on the right. "What's up?" I don't know. I fear our crossing the Rapidan would be a risky move with seventy miles of rail to guard, if Lee is as strong as is represented. It is supposed he has 50,000 men. The 2d Corps has not left us. It has been on a reconnaissance today. Have not heard yet the result. As we have heard but little firing I presume not much has been developed. It is supposed that Lee is in force on the other side of the Rapidan, but a few days will prove whether he is or not. It seems rather good to be on the move again, although yesterday's experience was rough. I had the putting of our Division into camp and as they were pretty nearly all night coming up I had no sleep till about three o'clock this A.M., and then my bed was the sod and my bedclothes my rubber coat and no feed since four o'clock the previous morning. How would you enjoy the field after this fashion? The delight experienced on the arrival of the trains with tents and grub almost repays one for the fatigue and disgust in waiting. The General had temporary command of the Corps too, yesterday, and this made more work still. I really believe I was the only officer of the Corps who saw the troops all in last night. I'll write you again as soon as anything turns up. . . .

PEN.

FROM FRANCIS C. BARLOW.

SHARON SPRINGS, September 26, '63.

MY VERY DEAR CHARLES, — You must wonder at not hearing from me, but the truth is I have been so forlorn that I have not written to anybody.

Will you believe that on this, the 86th day of my wound, I am still lying on a stretcher and shouldn't dare to walk six rods? I have no suffering from my wound, which though it still dribbles a little is of no account, but for a long time I have been afflicted with neuralgia in the loins and legs. Sitting or standing is very painful and it attacks me even when lying still.

I am anxious to come to Boston and see Dr. Bigelow as soon as I can travel. This week I was to have gone to the Howes at Newport, but I can't travel, as my attacks have lately been worse than ever.

I left Brattleboro the last of August and spent ten days with a friend on the Hudson and then came here, where I have not improved, but am rather worse. But today I am freer from pains and if I continue so shall leave on Monday or Tuesday and after making my brother a visit in Brooklyn for a few days shall come to dear Massachusetts.

I hope you will be at Chelmsford where we can have a few days.

Don't you think I am an old cripple? For the last year I have been disabled by wounds nine months and on duty three.

I was so well a fortnight ago that I ventured to New York for a day, but sitting up so long raised the devil with me.

I shall be very glad to see you. I should have written to you to come to Brattleboro, but we were to leave there a day or two after your letter came saying you would come.

I have heard nothing about my appointment as superintendent of the darkies. If they adopt Owen and Howes, etc., plan they will no doubt appoint me. The Secretary of War has as yet taken no action in the matter. Very affectionately,

FRANCIS.

FROM MRS. EDWARD B. DALTON.

PORTSMOUTH, VA., September 27, '63.

MY DEAR CHARLES, — I suppose by this time you have returned from your journey, and are settled at home once more.

I received your welcome letter just as we were leaving Chesapeake to come here. I suppose ere this you have received Ned's letter telling you of our change of residence.¹ Ned gave me about an hour to pack up all my clothes and furniture; the consequence was I did not get off, and he was obliged to go alone with two loads of furniture, and return for me and the rest the next day. It is no small joke running round the country with two or three cartloads of furniture. It was only about ten days before we left Chesapeake, that we were obliged to move everything from our Casement out there. Now we have still one more move to make from this house to our own.

At present we are in Dr. Blaney's quarters in the Macon House, an old Hotel, but now used for a hospital — at least the convalescents and particular cases from Ned's Hospital are sent here. Dr. Blaney occupies the front part of the house, which is like a common square wooden country house. The large brick L at the back is used as a hospital. Dr. B. and family are away on leave, and when they return we expect to go to our own house. This is a horrid old rambling place, with the kitchen detached from the house. The kitchen is about the size of your father's two parlors, and no sort of conveniences in it, and is usually filled with darkies from the neighborhood. I have my waitress with me, and Dr. Blaney's is still here. I use the latter as my cook, but she knows nothing whatever about it and I have to superintend and *do* most of the cooking. It is a good experience for me I have no doubt. I am getting really very expert. The market here is not good at all, and the pieces of meat sent us, would puzzle *you* to carve. Two articles we have really very fine — oysters and sweet potatoes.

We have found a little old house which with some painting and whitewashing I think we can make comfortable. There are two parlors, dining room and kitchen, and four chambers. We shall certainly expect a visit from you and Mary this winter. I long to get into it.

¹ You see by date of this that I have taken another jump. Dr. Stocker was reinstated Surgeon in charge of Chesapeake General Hospital Sunday morning. I was ordered over here to take charge of the "Balfour General Hospital, U. S. A." — not "temporarily" I am happy to say. I received my order yesterday and came over last evening's boat, leaving Sally at Chesapeake until today. I shall go over for her this P.M. I cannot tell you much about my new place yet. I only know that the general condition of the hospital is rather hard, and I can see that there is no little to be done to straighten it out. As soon as I have had a chance to look round a bit, I'll write you more. I think I can make it a good place and a decently pleasant for Sally." Edward B. Dalton, September 15, 1863.

I enjoyed my stay at Chesapeake very much, and it was a good thing for us, for we were there during the very hottest part of the summer, and that is the coolest place anywhere round. Mary asks in her letter if it was not awkward going there under the circumstances. I certainly felt so at first, but Mrs. Stocker is the easiest person in the world to get along with. They felt dreadfully to have us come away. "The Major is such a sweet fellow!" (meaning *Ned*) Mrs. Stocker says. She always calls him "Major" and speaks of him as "the dear Major."

To show you how I am put to my trumps sometimes I will tell you of my first tea-party. Last Monday Lieutenant Bickley came up from the Fort to dine with us, and informed me that Mrs. and Miss Stocker, Mrs. Bickley, and Colonel Hoffman were coming up later to pass the evening with us. I immediately sent out for some oysters, and got Ned to go to Norfolk for some cake. I felt a little anxious about tea-spoons and forks, as I had only $\frac{1}{2}$ dozen of one and four of the other, but I thought I could dispense with any myself and I could raise a few *steel* forks. I had my table set and was viewing it with much satisfaction, when hearing voices at the door (it was then half past six) I opened it, and — imagine my consternation — in walked Mrs. Stocker, Miss Stocker, Miss Burton, Mrs. Bickley, Mrs. Maj. Stevenson, Miss Mattie Moody, Colonel Hoffman, Colonel Stony, Colonel Thomas and Lieutenant Kimball. "Spoons and forks!" said I to myself, "what shall I do?" I did not know a white woman in the place of whom I could borrow. Mrs. Stocker thinking I might be unprepared had kindly brought me a sponge cake. I confided my trouble to the ladies, and they said they could get along with one between them. Colonel Hoffman hearing of my poverty, said he knew Colonel Dutton who lived near us, and he would ask him to lend me some, which he kindly did. I fortunately had more oysters in the house not cooked, and we got along splendidly, it was the merriest party possible. There were thirteen of us, so they would not sit down to the table, but part sat on the floor round the fire and part round the table. I just escaped having the General; he meant to have come, but got too tired inspecting. I think Julia would have enjoyed my party.

Since writing the above we have heard that Dr. Blaney is ordered away. I am in despair, for Mrs. Blaney is the only lady I know here. I don't see a white woman to speak to from one week's end to another: they are all sesesh here of the strongest kind and look upon us with disgust. I have heard from Mother today that Aunt Fanny and Nellie and Albert and the children

have arrived in N. Y. I am thinking somewhat of going home for a short time to get my winter clothes etc., but I want to make sure of some escort back. Are you thinking of going on to Washington this Fall? If you are, I might accompany you back as far as Baltimore. I do wish Ned could get away for two weeks, it would do him good. He won't apply for leave, for he thinks it will not do for him to go away so soon. He is working very hard now, getting his hospital into shape. Everything was at sixes and sevens when he took possession.

Ned Jeffries has certainly distinguished himself. No one had given me a full account of the failure until you wrote. Mother sent me today a paragraph from some paper, headed "A fast young man," giving an outline of his career. We are longing to see you all. I hope I shall have the pleasure before long, but poor Ned will not. I can't bear to leave him here alone. . . .

Ned sends his love, and says he is just going to drink your health in Commissary Whiskey: he says he is getting poor and can't afford any other, but he drinks your health as though it was the finest brand!

Write us soon again. I hope you have enjoyed your Mountain trip. Your affectionate Sister,

SALLY.

FROM HENRY R. DALTON.

Headquarters First Division Sixth Army Corps,
October 7th, 1863.

DEAR CHARLEY,— We arrived here (on the Rapidan) day before yesterday, relieving the 2d Corps from the very hard picket duty for several miles on this river. The work is very hard on the men but for us it's not much more than usual except now and then a scare which puts us under arms for a few hours.

I don't believe myself there will be an attack here by either side but should the enemy attack us they'll get whipped. There is but little of unusual interest here excepting occasionally the shooting of deserters. Day after tomorrow we shoot three in our division.

Our headquarters here are in the dooryard of a rebel whose house is partially vacated. We have several rooms in it for a rainy day, so we are sure of comfortable quarters if the rebs don't shell us out, as they can very easily from their batteries on the other side of the river, but I guess there's no fear of it. . . .

PEN.

Headquarters First Division Sixth Army Corps,
October 16, 1863.

DEAR CHARLEY, — We remain this evening in the same position of yesterday and no fight, and the enemy not appearing in our front I should not be surprised if we should move on them within a few days and perhaps fight them. I have not heard of yesterday's operations but as we have not moved it was all right for us. Much obliged for sending on a box of good things. I shall send for it as soon as possible, just as soon as this movement is over. The pipes and the bitters will be just the thing, for it's impossible to get anything of that nature good for anything of our sutlers or agents. They charge fearfully and give poor stuff.

You sent me quite a list of engagements. I wonder if they'll all last all winter?

Yours of the 11th received, with Ned Johnson's cards. You ask how far we are from Washington. Tonight we are twenty-one miles only. The good people of that city must have heard the cannonading of yesterday quite distinctly, and I think they will hear more of it in a day or two. I would like some goose muchly, but for the next few days hard tack and ham will be the principal stock of food I guess. However, we are generally living very nicely. . . .

PEN.

Headquarters First Division Sixth Army Corps,
Little River pike, 6 miles beyond FAIRFAX C. H.,
October 15, 1863.

DEAR CHARLES, — My prophecy in my letter to Mary that I did not think we were to remain long on the Rapidan has proved true. We left there the night of the 10th and moved to Culpepper C. H. and on the morning of the 11th the Army moved back to this side of the Rappahannock up and down the river from the station. On the 12th our Corps and the 5th Corps and Buford's Cavalry commanded by General Sedgwick, the 6 Corps being under General Wright, recrossed the Rapidan and advanced to B[raley?] Station; the Cavalry kept on to Culpepper C. H.; finding but a small force of Cavalry and artillery we returned at night.

What this advance was meant for was not at all understood but I think now that it was done to blind the enemy as to our

movements, as it is now understood that they have a very large force, some 80,000 men, following us up. We fell back from point to point and are now in position, but how long we remain so of course I cannot say. I believe if the enemy attack us we shall fight him here but he may move to our flanks and cause us to change position and this he will be likely to do if he has such a superior force. I think this Army proper is not more than 50,000 strong.

The advance of the enemy yesterday attacked the 2d Corps as they were moving in the rear covering our trains. They were handsomely repulsed. We captured one battery and 500 prisoners. This is *sure*. Our loss was about 200 killed and wounded. Our trains are all safe. Some of the prisoners are said to be just from Charleston and it is reported that Lee has concentrated the troops from that point here. This is believed by some and not by others. General Meade does believe it. I am very well indeed although we have had some severe marches and little sleep. I will let you know what turns up as soon as I can. At the present time the situation is as I have described. Yours of the 9th received. Firing has just commenced on our left. Good luck. Your affectionate Brother,

PEN.

Headquarters First Division Sixth Army Corps,
Near WARRENTON, October 27, 1863.

DEAR CHARLEY,—Yours of the 21st received. We arrived at our old camp in Warrenton last week and yesterday moved out here about two miles in front of the town and are being continually held in readiness to receive an attack or to move and make one ourselves. So we may have a fight and we may not. I wish we might do something pretty soon and finish up this campaign. I don't think the Army of the Potomac has done much to boast of this year. This dodging about from the Rappahannock to the Potomac is getting played out but I suppose it must be endured, unsatisfactory as it is. It's getting very late into the season and it's possible nothing further will be accomplished. I hope, however, we shall be ordered forward to an attack in a day or two and drive the rebs beyond the Rapidan at least.

I've been lucky to pick up a stove in Warrenton so I am exceedingly comfortable these cold nights and I [am] all ready for winter quarters but I can't bear to think of them at present

for the stupidity of another winter down here in Virginia will be almost unbearable and the longer we are active the better.

Glad to hear of John's safe arrival in New York. I saw in the N. Y. Herald he had taken hold of the College again. . . .

PEN.

Headquarters 1st Division 6th Corps, December 16, '63.

MY DEAR JULE, — Your note came today. I fear I cannot get to Boston for a Xmas dinner. Many of our staff are off and the General goes to Washington tomorrow sick and I certainly cannot leave till he returns — about New Year's you may expect me.

Very glad to hear of your return to the family fireside. We will have some good times the few days I'm at home, won't we? Just think they only let officers from Massachusetts have ten days' leave but I shall try hard to stretch them out a day or two.

Very sorry to hear you say that Father is not quite well. I wrote him a few days since to come out here and I think it would do him good, but now there are signs of our moving back a little and establishing a new line for the winter so I hope he has not started lest he should get here during a movement which would be very uncomfortable for him. Some say we are to winter at Warrenton. If we are fortunate enough to have the town as we did all summer it will be very fine as far as our quarters are concerned.

Do you know you have been very bad indeed in not writing to your pimkin more frequently, but I will forgive you if I find you sufficiently humble when I get home. So Barlow is still in Boston? Shall you invite him to dine with John at Xmas? Ha, ha. I really would like to see the General. It must be very comfortable for him to be so long ailing. Perhaps if he applies himself to good dinners (victuals and drink are invaluable in such cases) during the winter he may be ready for the field by spring.

Likewise my dear friend O. W. H., Jr., I understand he will be recovered after two or three more extensions of his leave. This I know is illnatured but why can't wounds be more fairly distributed?

We had the Russians here yesterday and Meade ordered out our corps for review. It was fun to see them try to ride. Probably they had never mounted before in their lives, certainly their horsemanship was not graceful and whenever General Meade

returned the salute of the troops by removing his hat the four and forty bears raised theirs. Altogether it was very funny. Several were thrown from their horses, many were killed, while some were run away with and have not as yet been heard from; they are likely still riding on, being unfamiliar with the mode of reining in. This is all true, every word of it, which being the case I will bid you an affectionate good night and retire to my couch to dream of New Year's. Love to all at home.¹

PEN.

FROM EDWARD B. DALTON.

Head Quarters, Army of Potomac,
15th March, 1864.

DEAR CHARLES,—I begin to think you don't know my address—and to tell the truth my quarters have been rather shifting since I got down to the old army again, but I'm fairly ensconced now here at headquarters and already at work in my new position as Inspector Medical Department, A. of P. It bids fair to give me work enough, but as it will carry me into every part of the Army and will keep me a good deal in the saddle I think it'll prove a pleasant thing. It seems pretty lonely here after our life at Portsmouth, but that, I take it, will wear away somewhat gradually.

I have hardly been here long enough to become familiar with the officers, but I've met several good cordial fellows—though in fact I'm away so much that this is not of so very much importance. I've gotten a good man to take care of the good horses, a good tent over my head and I guess I shall weather it.

How's Pen? I'm glad enough he got the chance to go home, and yet I miss him much and shall again be glad enough to see him come back. Has it come out? I suppose so. I saw Miss Russell's picture and liked it very much. Wish I could see herself. How is Mary? Please give her my love. Ask her if she wouldn't like some council, and tell her I have had consider-

¹ It is astonishing to see how the people here do begin to love their country since General Ben's arrival and promulgation of his intentions. The Provost Marshall's offices on both sides the river have been crowded during the whole of business hours for days with citizens of both sexes taking the oath of allegiance—many of them well-known heretofore as bitter secessionists. I believe General B. says that some direct act of loyalty is necessary beside the oath, and that enlistments must now be brisk in these parts." Edward B. Dalton, December 2, 1863.

able experience in observing the Newsboy, and found him a most interesting character. You may recall a notable occasion we had of observing his peculiar manners and customs at the "Bowery." His interest in the drama. His Enthusiastic reception of whatever met his approval in the performance and his equally frank, though perhaps homely, mode of expressing his disapprobation. His prompt and straightforward manner of settling any little differences of opinion 'twixt himself and his friends. All these things I know you will recall with pleasure and interest and they may prove not without value as data to Mary in her efforts.

16 March, '64.

Here I was interrupted and have just gotten chance to resume. Meantime yours of the 12th has come to hand and is I assure you right welcome. I did want very much to hear from you. Glad to hear Pen is all right, and engagement out. It is already out here. Tell Pen I heard of it today through friend Barnard, who told friends Duffy and Rice. I hear from John today that his resignation is accepted, and everything squared up, and that he means to be off for Boston soon as College closes. He is going to take charge of Sally, probably going on to Philadelphia for her.

It is certainly a sad business for you closing up things at 72.¹ I wish I were there to take my part, but we can hardly expect to be with each other much while the war lasts. And certainly, Charles, we have great reason to congratulate ourselves that we did not all leave Father in his last years. How glad we shall always be that it was so.

I suppose you mean by and by to go to "Farm" as usual. When shall we have another summer there altogether? Let us hope that at Pen's marriage, God bless him, we may all join hands once more, and hold on.

I am selfish enough to want to see Pen back here very much. I like my position and duties better every day. As I've already said I have been assigned as "Inspector of Medical Department, Army of Potomac." My duties are somewhat similar to those of Medical Inspector of a Corps, but less of a routine character and extending, of course over a larger and more varied field. I receive and look over the reports of the various Corps Medical Inspectors, make a digest of the more important points in them, ride here and there and investigate personally any that seem of

¹ Boylston Street.

peculiar interest and importance and from the whole make a consolidated report to Surgeon McParlin, Medical Director of A. of P. My field of inspection extends to everything connected directly or indirectly with the Medical Department such as officers and their duties, condition of camps, quarters, etc., hospitals, care and transportation of sick and wounded, medical supplies, food, etc., etc. — a kind of roving commission, you see, involving no little work, and at the same time, no little experience and entertainment.

I am living in a good large comfortable tent, and with a pleasant mess of four, viz. Dr. McParlin, Surgeon U.S.A., Director, Dr. Ghiselin, Surgeon U.S.A., Asst. Director, Dr. McKenzie, Asst. Surgeon U.S.A., Medical Attendant for Headquarters, and myself. I find them all pleasant men and things bid fair to move on smoothly. I have met and been introduced to General Meade. Have you ever seen him? He is a tall, slender, quite handsome man. He is not well and struck me as sad-looking. There are still rumors of his being relieved, and the announcement in the papers today of the President's nomination of General Smith as Major General Regular Army to fill vacancy by Grant's promotion, has rather added to them. Still they seem mere camp rumors. The reorganization business which has been progressing so rapidly does not seem to start. It is a very unpopular move with the Army, I think. It breaks up the old traditions. Men hate to give up the prestige and tear off the badge of the Corps they've always served in. Grant made a flying visit here of one night. It was a rainy night and I didn't see him. But they say he's to be down here again in few weeks, and then I suppose there'll be a review. Wish you could be down here about that time. . . .

NED.

Head Quarters, A. of P., April 18th, '64.

DEAR CHARLES, — Your most acceptable package has arrived. Pen and I have just divided the spoils, which afford immense satisfaction. The coat is capital one, just exactly what I want. I have been pretty well soaked once or twice since I got back about the knees and feet from not having such an one. I guess I'm good for the summer now. We have just gotten back from Washington, Pen today, and I yesterday. He left here last Wednesday morning to take some men transferred to Navy, to

Baltimore and stopped day or two in Washington on his way back. Friday by a curious coincidence I was sent to Alexandria to see after establishing a depot of medical supplies, and to Washington for something else. Miss Russell is certainly most beautiful and attractive in every way. We expected to come back together on Sunday, but Pen kind of concluded that Monday would be early enough for him. So I left him having a good time, and he arrived this afternoon. There has been a review of the Sixth Corps today, and also of the reserve Artillery, by Grant. They looked finely—that is to us. What the rebels thought of it I cannot say. However we won't trouble them to decide now, but give them a closer inspection anon. Barlow was over. Said he received a note from you last night. He seems to look all right again. The Second Corps I believe is to be reviewed tomorrow or next day. While in Washington I staid with Channing, Blagden and Captain Curtis (Pelham).

They are all on duty there and are living in quarters not far from Willard's up on G. street.

I think I have written you about an offer Dr. Peters made me not long since, though I have been intending to ever since. However John has perhaps told you. The Doctor wrote me a most kind and friendly letter asking me to resign and become associated with him in business. I think you may like to read it, it is so friendly and handsome in the way he puts the proposition, so I enclose it. I thought well over it, and felt there was but one decision—to decline—which I did—giving him at the same time my warmest thanks, and my reasons for doing as I did. A few days since I received another letter from him saying that my reply had much disappointed, but hardly surprized him, and that unless his health broke down he should wait until next Fall, hoping that this summer's campaign would bring such success that I should feel I could rightly resign and come with him. I am sure I most heartily hope it will—and I believe it too. As you will see from his letter, he does not wish the matter talked about. Please enclose the letter to me again when you write. I don't think I know anyone else in the practice of medicine with whom I should really like to be associated, but with him I would. He knows me well and I know him well, and things would be straightforward and right.¹ I do hope that next Fall will see Pen and I coming home together. What do you think of the prospects? Pen and I are much in hopes that it will thus come to pass. We have many a chat over the good

¹ De Witt Clinton Peters, of New York?

times we are to have altogether. May God preserve the dear boy through all that is to come this summer. I am so thankful I am where I can be near him. . . .

NED.

FROM HENRY R. DALTON.

Head Quarters 1st Division 6 Corps,
April 19, '64.

DEAR CHARLEY, — I'm back again in Camp after four days' sojourn in Washington. I was fortunate enough to be ordered up to Baltimore in charge of a detachment of men transferred to the Navy and made my order last me four days in Washington on my return from the Naval Station.

Elise came on with Mr. and Mrs. Jack Reed on a visit to Mr. Hooper and as you may suppose we made as much out of four days as possible. Mrs. R. was very nice and useful and even Hooper was exceedingly hospitable as also Mrs. Sturgis Hooper, his daughter in law. Elise will be at home again on Saturday when she will tell you what a beautiful city she thinks Washington. I had the honor to dine on Sunday with Sumner, the great Senator from Mass., who did not impress me with his greatness excepting perhaps so far as his opinion of himself was concerned. Do you really think he's an honest man? I was very mad at one remark of his at the table in which he slurred the military services of Butler at the breaking out of the war when he went to Annapolis and then for a man in his high position to be continually kicking poor old McClellan seems to me in bad taste to say the least, almost as much so as the other extreme.

On my return here I found the package you were good enough to send a feller. I am very much obliged to you. Ned was here at the time so he got his coat and we divided the segars. I was delighted Ned could get up to W. while I was there and see Elise. She and Ned decided that we were to resign next fall. You've no idea how demoralized Ned is now. I think he's even more so than I am. He seems very well indeed, much improved since he came to this Army.

The talk here and in Washington seems to be that we shall not move before the middle of May at any rate till the forces at Annapolis and Ft. Monroe are fully organized. What that column is to do is still unknown, whether they go to the Peninsula or are to perhaps move on the Fredericksburg line and join

us at Hanover Junction. They can do either, but that a fearful struggle is in prospect there's but little doubt. I only trust we shall not be so used up by it as not to be able to accomplish more than the mere shedding of blood in battle. . . .

PEN.

Headquarters, 1st Division, 6 Corps,
May 2, 1864.

DEAR CHARLEY, —

This Army has been for a week or more in readiness for a movement at any moment and perhaps now that Burnside's command has come up the orders to start will come. Whether these troops are to go along with us or not nobody knows and we are equally well informed as to movements and plans generally. This state of things is at it should be and I believe that Grant's plans whatever they may be are all right. He's got good material in this Army and he should have enough of it. Hooker is said (rumor) to be at Harper's Ferry to come down the Valley with 30,000 man and Smith on the Peninsula with 40,000. Burnside has a strong Corps and "they say" is not to have anything to do with us. I tell you we ought to fix them off this time, but what is Banks doing? Is it true they are thinking too much of lining their pockets down in this Department? It certainly looks like it, does it not? By Jove, such a thing is outrageous. The superceding Stone with Dwight as Chief of Staff to Banks looks bad. I don't care to lead the sort of life I have for the past two years and a half at \$1200. a year, spending it all too for feed and clothing, in order that some may make their piles. I really think from all I hear that things are rotten in Banks' command. What do you hear of it?

General Wright has been back here with us for ten days. We were all very glad to see him again. Since his return we have been quite busy inspecting etc. General Shaler's Brigade adds considerably to the strength of the Division. We now have four Brigades. Our command is larger than it ever was before. I hope you will hear good accounts of us when we are "put in."

Ned I saw yesterday. He was first rate and has been so since his arrival here. We hope to have him with our Corps on the march and in case of action, for which I shall be thankful. Ned is as great a favorite at my Headquarters as he is everywhere. He is generally over here every other day and dines with us frequently. We think next winter will see us shorn of our straps and buttons having become quiet citizens, but we can tell better

when that time comes and we must see the inside of Richmond before offering a resignation and I think we'll see it this heat. . . .

PEN.

Headquarters 1 Division 6 Corps,
May 20, '64.

DEAR CHARLEY, — Yours of the 15th received. I'm sorry I feel so tired tonight by all last night on the march and today moving from one point to another on the line and cannot write but a word to say that I'm very well and Ned I hear of from day to day is all right also. He is at Fredericksburg in charge of all the Hospitals there. You are good to be so kind to Elise. They both need friends in their sorrow. This Army has not changed its position for a week excepting to alter the line in some point. Lee has not been badly beaten but I think is worse off than we are. We have had a *terrible* campaign and it is not over yet. Ewell's Corps tried to turn our flank last evening but was handsomely repulsed. Good night, dear Charles. Love to Mary. God bless you all. Your affectionate Brother,

PEN.

FROM EDWARD B. DALTON.

FREDERICKSBURG, VA., May 20, '64.

DEAR CHARLES, — Pen, dear boy, is safe, thank God, in spite of all the danger he has been in. I have not seen him for some days as I was sent here with all the wounded and kept here as Medical Director to see that they are taken care of, and all that can bear it forwarded to Washington as soon as possible. I hear from Pen daily. He is perfectly well, but like all very tired. Should dear Pen be hurt, which may God forbid, I am just where I could take the best care of him. I can go to the extreme front or any part of it whenever I please at any moment, and I have complete control of everything here, hospitals, private houses, ambulances, everything. Yours of 15th came yesterday and glad enough I was to get it. I was alarmed yesterday by a man from Medical Director's office in New York telling me that John was too sick to go on to Washington to testify in Hammond's case, or even to give his deposition — from your letter this cannot be so. Write me, please, at once about it.

The fight is a terrible one. Hard work enough for all, but all in good spirits. No give up this time. Write often. Best love to Mary. Good bye. Your affectionate Brother,

NED.

FROM FRANCIS C. BARLOW.

Headquarters, 1st Division, 2nd Corps,
May 24th, '64.

MY DEAR CHARLES, — What is the state of the Darkey Bureau question? Will the bill pass and whom will they put at the head of the Bureau?

When this Campaign is over I think I should like it unless I can get an independent command. I am not much delighted with the performances here, *though this is in the strictest confidence.*

We are across the North Anna near Hanover Junction where the enemy are in force. I think they will make a great effort and attack us as they did in 1862 and I always doubt the result of these great battles.

What is the news with you? Why don't you write to me?

My kindest regards to Mrs. Dalton and Julia. Where are you going to live this summer?

I am looking for a wound but it has not come. My health is splendid. I have seen Pen once or twice since we started. Truly,

FRANCIS C. B[ARLOW].

FROM EDWARD B. DALTON.

James River, On Board Str. "Hugh Jenkins,"
June 17th, 1864.

DEAR CHARLES, — Was right glad to get yours of the 5th the other day at White Ho. I left that point on the morning of the 14th, having heard from Dear Pen only the day before. He was all right, safe and well. I shall despatch an orderly to him at once we reach the new base, and will immediately write you on his return.

I shall go to see him myself the first chance I get. In accordance with orders I shipped all the wounded to Washington from White Ho., then embarked all the Hospitals, property, etc., and

have come round with a fleet of steamers and barges, via Yorktown, Fort Monroe and Newport News, and have gotten up the James to the Pontoon upon which the Army is crossing—that is, some fifteen miles below City Point. The Army has nearly crossed and the bridge will probably be up in two hours when we shall push at once for the above point, which is to be the next base. Glad to hear John is still picking up at Brattleboro.

Grant as you see is making another grand flank movement—a bold one it is too. Now is the time for your reinforcements—pour them in and I believe Old Ulysses will do the right thing. It is a tough job—and a terrible one—but back him up, and he'll accomplish it. . . .

NED.

FROM HENRY R. DALTON.

Headquarters 1 Division 6 Corps,
July 8, 1864.

DEAR CHARLEY,—I hear of you every day, which is very nice indeed. Elise is enjoying herself exceedingly at the Farm. I tell you I wish I was there helping her and seeing you all but there seems to be no chance although for a week or more we've been remarkably quiet here excepting the occasional cannonading which amounts to nothing but noise. What's the next move is the great question. The movement of the enemy into Maryland I hope will not take any more troops from here. For a time we of the 6th Corps expected to go. Our 3d Division started off in hurry night before last. There is still a chance for us.

I should really like to know Grant's idea about this campaign—he must have expected different results. We all did certainly, but it is a fearful task to perform. He has to contend against incompetency among his own generals but that's a part of the task I suppose. Why can't you come down and see us while we stay here? If we could receive you at our present headquarters you would be very comfortable and you would too very much like to see the lines of our Army, particularly those of General Butler. His batteries and works are remarkably strong. If you'd risk a move it would pay you for the trouble of getting on here and in case of a move Ned could take care of you, if you did not feel like travelling along with us. I have seen General Barlow often of late. He's a little nettled at the bad luck of the 2d Corps on the 22d but is in good spirits for

the future. As for myself I am in better pluck than when I wrote you last but I feel this that we must keep up the strength of our old regiments and I hope you're all working hard for this at home. If we can't outwit the rebs we can outnumber them. It makes me very mad to read the accounts of our affairs in the newspapers. For instance the *New York Herald* said that our Corps went out to the relief of Wilson, repulsed the enemy and recaptured his (Wilson's) prisoners and guns, when the actual fact was that we never saw a *single reb*. The Corps did not go within two miles of the battle field at Reams, arriving at that point twelve hours after Wilson had been whipped and retreated, while the people read these things and say, "Well everything is going on all right" and don't exert themselves to help us. I tell you, Charley, the enemy are tremendously strong in their zeal for their cause. It carries them through many a tight place. They never waste men. I don't *know* as we have wasted them but I have thought so often in this campaign. One cannot have an idea of the awful slaughter who has not seen the battle fields. There is mighty little romance about them. Ned I guess could show some figures which might give you an idea what this Army has gone through.

The newspapers have just come and tell us that Pennsylvania has called for 24,000 100-days men and Massachusetts 5,000 100-days men. I don't believe they are worth anything and yet they are to be paid more for garrisoning about Washington than our old chaps get here. This war won't end in 100 days, certainly if 100-days men have to fight it out. Why not enlist or *draft* for three years and then a decent army could be organized. It seems to me mighty poor policy.

July 9th P.M.

From appearances today I should think we might stay hereabouts for some time. An interior line of works is being constructed either for use in case of necessity or the lines are to be contracted. The sinking of the *Alabama* was splendid, was it not? Confound those English. I have not heard of my appointment excepting in the papers. I suppose I have to thank you for putting it through. Please let me know how it was done. I heard of Ned yesterday. He's all right. Good bye, dear Charles. God bless you all at home. Your affectionate Brother,

PEN.

FROM EDWARD B. DALTON.

CITY POINT, VA., July 19th, '64.

DEAR CHARLES,— This is a long, long time between letters. In fact so long that I can't recollect which is the debtor. But I'm going to put an end to that doubt at any rate.

Pen, dear boy, has, as you know, been away from these parts with the Sixth Corps for some little time. He breakfasted with me the day they left and I saw him off. I have not heard from him since. You have I suppose. You know of course he had just received his promotion to rank of Major. Hurrah for our side! We are beginning to look for the Corps back again, though I've heard nothing definite of it. The rebs didn't make much in their last attempt, did they? It seems to me they couldn't have carried off much more than they would themselves consume and certainly they utterly failed to distract any attention from the game here. I believe Old Grant has gotten hold and he don't mean to let go. How is the feeling about home now? I hope all right.

Since our arrival here at City Point, I have been quite busy in again establishing the Field Depot hospital for the Army of P. and this time carrying it much further in the way both of extent and perfection. It really is quite a city now. I should like very much to go through it with you. I have between a thousand and twelve hundred tents (hospital) up, covering in all about two hundred acres. The camp is on a high bluff upon the Appomattox just as it joins the James. The whole is divided by Corps and each laid out in square form with streets and cross streets, etc. Two steam engines (Durkey) pump water from the river in a large tank elevated some thirty feet above the bank. This tank supplies, by means of under ground pipes, smaller tanks in the various sections of the encampment. Beside this supply for laundry purposes, etc., and to sprinkle the streets, we have dug several most successful wells and have ample supply of good drinking water. I sent to Washington some time since and got eight sprinkling carts, and they've been a great thing too. We have four wharves exclusively for our use, and steamers running to New York, Philadelphia, Washington and Annapolis, etc. There has been a good deal of work about it, but it has been very interesting, and we can now accommodate over ten thousand patients. Why can't you get a chance to run down here for few days at least? I think it's about time

for Lieutenant Colonel Dalton to be looking after the interests of his men again. What do you say to it? I do want much to have a talk with you. . . .

NED.

FROM HENRY R. DALTON.

Headquarters First Division, Sixth Corps,
November 2, 1864.

DEAR CHARLEY,—We arrived here in safety this afternoon having had very good luck all the way in the way of conveyances and rapidity of getting through and find the Division in just the same spot as when I left, seemingly as if nothing had transpired. They are encamped on the battle field of the morning of the 19th.

I have thought a good deal on my way back of the claims which call me home and I feel more strongly that I should come as soon as possible and shall take steps on this decision. Should we be ordered to City Point I fear the chance for the acceptance of my resignation would be doubtful as General Meade is very stringent. I shall therefore see General Sheridan's Chief of Staff tomorrow and should there appear any chances of our being ordered to Petersburg I shall send my resignation in forthwith. I say this to you but to no one else, as we may remain here for some time to come. I will write you again of course and let you know when I take this step, so that if deemed expedient you can secure the acceptance of my paper at the War Department.¹

There is a matter at the State House I'd like you to speak of if you feel like it. A Captain Lincoln of the 37 Mass. Vols. is detailed as Inspector General of our Division. His recommendation for promotion to the Majority of his regiment has been forwarded to Governor Andrew previous to his detail here, the Colonel being vexed at his detail sent on recalling the detail. He is a first class officer and a very nice gentleman and I should be very sorry to have him lose his majority by his detail here. I understand the matter is still undecided as yet. I am very sleepy tonight. This being the third day of my travels, the last 1½ being in an ambulance, I am tired as you can imagine. Let me hear from you soon; Love to Mary. Your affectionate Brother,

PEN.

¹ He sent in his resignation November 13, and knew of its acceptance November 29.

FROM EDWARD B. DALTON.

CITY POINT, VA., Sunday, November 20th, '64.

DEAR CHARLES,— Here's a regular old-fashioned rainy Sunday and I hope you'll get down to your desk as I am at mine and write me a good long letter. I thought the re-election would stir you up to at least a word of congratulation, but I haven't heard from you since your breakfast note in Baltimore. However I know you're full of business. How splendidly everything went for Old Abe. Everybody down here, especially Grant, was in fine spirits over it. In fact I believe that the few in the army who voted for McClellan did so more to be consistent than with any especial wish to see him president. The South are trying to make the best of it, but it goes hard with them. . . .

John I had a letter from some few weeks since written, I thought, in quite good spirits, but he said almost nothing about his health. How is he? Is there any improvement do you think? I hear that Greeley Curtis is getting very much better abroad. You know how badly off he was, and John's difficulty seems to be something similar to his, only John told me that he had felt something of it before the War. And I recollect Father speaking to me and being anxious about it. I don't think John regards it as owing entirely to malaria. Still no doubt that increases it very much. I want very much to hear from him. Pen lad I haven't heard a word from since I first came back. What did he say on the resignation question? His Corps don't seem to stand still much. It looks very much as though they were in for a winter in the Valley. When did [you] hear from him last and what did he say? Is Jule still up at Aunt Ann's? Is there any progress in John and she having an establishment in New York this winter? I hope there is. There are a lot of questions and I don't see how you can get round writing.

As for me I am busy too. The scheme of the new barrack hospital has exploded altogether. Some military objections became apparent, to the site on the river near us, and I immediately hunted up a new one—and a beautiful one it was in every particular—just below City Point on the James. It was approved and the change ordered by General Meade. But after a good deal of tacking and filling—and slipping away of the fine weather withal—and visits from the Surgeon General and Quarter Master General, etc., etc., the whole thing was abandoned—and at last very much to my relief, for I saw plainly enough that they hated to begin the job, and that, if they did,

it would be so late in the season, and it would be so long under way, that the principal result would be that we should be kept out in the cold the greater part of the winter, living on anticipation, which is mighty poor living in a Virginia winter. So it has finally resolved itself into giving the material to do the best I could on this same spot. And a pretty good ranch we're getting up too. I am substituting for the tents long stockade buildings roofed with boards and paper felt, with good large windows and ridge ventilation. We are going ahead right fast with them, and they make really quite a handsome settlement as well as a very substantial one.

I've gotten a crowd of teams, too, at work hauling gravel on to the streets, which I am grading all through the camp just as the main street was when you were here. Our headquarters looks pretty much as when you were here, excepting that we have gravel walks running from tent to tent. You will also be gratified to know that we have a stove in the mess tent. In front of our quarters, though, it looks much better. We have taken away all the stables and orderlies quarters, and graded the whole plateau off flat, and gravelled and rolled it. We have put the stables etc. in the ravines on the flanks of the headquarters. When we get it all in shape and you come down to take another look you'll hardly know the place.

11 o'clock P.M.

Just as I was writing this afternoon Mr. Frank Foster of Cambridge made his appearance. I need not tell you how glad I was to see anybody fresh from home with tidings of you all. And Foster is a very nice fellow too, and an old friend of Sally's. I was right glad, too, that he had seen you before coming. Glad to hear you're all right. He tells me you told him that Pen is going to resign next month. So he has really decided, has he? This will make Elise better at once. Please give my love and congratulations to her when you see her. Do you know I am beginning to think that when everything is fairly and solidly on a winter footing here, I may venture to get Sally down here for a few weeks? I'll build a snug staunch little log house to the rear of my tent, connect it by a covered way, use the tent as our parlor, and have quite an establishment. Of course everything will be made more private, and very different in every way from the summer and I have no doubt that very soon quite a number of ladies will come. In fact there are not a few already. Dr. Brinton, the Medical Purveyor whom you may recollect, has

his family on board his boat and has offered to always have comfortable quarters ready for Sally in case of any emergency. I tell you I dread a long stormy winter here alone. I wonder if Mary and you would come and visit us on the tented field. By the way I wish you would send my harness to me — that is, to Washington to be kept at Express office until called for. I'll send for it by hospital boat. I have a buggy.

I hope you've written me as long a letter as this. If you haven't, do that same at once. Love to Mary and here's wishing you a right good Thanksgiving. Good night. Your affectionate Brother,

NED.

Got a letter from John tonight. Writes in good spirits but says nothing about his health.

Head Quarters 9th Corps, Army of Potomac.
March 31st, '65.

DEAR CHARLES,—Here are John and I in a log hut on the front. I got my orders relieving me at the hospital and assigning me as Medical Director of this Corps, finished up what business was on hand as quickly as possible, had my horses saddled and was just on the point of starting out last Tuesday about 4 P.M. when to my astonishment I perceived John tramping in at the gate. I was glad enough to see him, and concluded to hold on till the next morning. So Wednesday morning I bade good-bye to the hospital and we started off together. I found quarters here ready for me so John staid too. It rained for about twenty-four hours and we didn't look round much, but Wednesday night there was tremendous shelling along the line, principally by mortars, and it was a splendid sight. They say here that there has been nothing like it since July last. They were greatly stirred up by it down at the Point and had all the troops out at the works above the hospital ready to meet the advancing foe, but Mr. Foe concluded he had had enough of it the last time, and made no assault. Yesterday was very rainy and we went about but little. Today has been better and John has had a look at the lines. I am rather sorry that his visit happens just as I am taking hold of a new thing, for I can't show him so much.

Things seem to be coming to a point pretty fast. As yet there is nothing very definite to report, but I guess there'll be something stirring to tell before long. . . .

Your affectionate Brother,

NED.

FROM JOHN C. DALTON.

Head Quarters 9th Corps, In the Field before
PETERSBURG, Sunday April 2nd, [1865], 8 P.M.

DEAR CHARLES,—Here I am with Ned, on the “Glorious field of victory” for today, and, to all appearance, for tomorrow too. I came up to City Point, as I wrote you I should, last Monday, and got to Ned’s Hospital, just as he was about harnessing up to report here as Medical Director of Ninth Corps—which he now is, and Lieut. Col. also. So he suspended the move, for that night and next morning we came up here together, just in time to see a bombardment in the night between the reb. forts and ours just in front. Grant’s left flank move was just well under weigh, and last night or rather early this morning (4 A.M.) the charge of the Ninth Corps against the enemy’s line took place and has been going on nearly all day. Results, two forts and three batteries captured and held against all the efforts of the rebs to regain them, their guns turned against their former owners, and our line steadily advancing. This, with Sheridan and the 5th Corps on the south side railroad, and the Sixth broken through the enemy’s in their front and the whole column swinging up to the right flank and rear of Petersburg, with prisoners already amounting to not less than 10,000, and “very many” guns, makes a great day’s work, as one of the Surgeons says the “Waterloo of the Rebellion.” To all appearance, the enemy will get away from their remaining forts, or else attack us with desperation, some time tonight. I think they will evacuate. There have been large fires in Petersburg this afternoon. Now there is nothing but almost constant dropping musketry from our front—the advanced line in the captured rifle pits keeping all the rebel heads close inside their parapets. I shall stay here some days longer—volunteer aid to the Medical Director of the Ninth Corps. Ned is first rate, and his General—Major General Parke—ditto, and a capital lot of young officers on the Staff. I saw Nat Henchman, Jun’r, today—clerk in Quarter Master’s office at City Point. He looks well and likes the business. What’s to become of Johnston now, when cock-a-whoop Sherman begins to turn his screws again?

J. C. DALTON.

U. S. Sanitary Commission, CITY POINT,
Wednesday, April 5th, 186[5].

DEAR CHARLES, — Here I am again after the grand blow up and evacuation, which I can hardly yet begin to appreciate, or fully comprehend, though I saw it all. It takes some time for the mind to take in a really big thing, like an anaconda don't swallow a rabbit all at once, though he might gulp down a squirrel or a mouse without stopping to think about it. I wrote you on Sunday night when all we knew was that our corps had been successful in forcing the enemy's lines handsomely and that the other corps had also done their work with similar success. But the firing was still going on, and the intention of the enemy uncertain. But by the time your letter was fairly off for City Point next morning, we knew the remaining works of the enemy were empty and soon after could see our flag flying in the city, from the signal station on the roof of Corps Head Quarters. Monday I went over the captured works and, early in P.M., into Petersburg with Ned and the 9th Corps, through the city and out to the westward. The column joined the other Corps, on the march in a similar direction and by about 5 P.M. I began to comprehend that the entire army (except one division, left in Petersburg) were striking straight for Burkesville. So I bid Ned good-bye and toted myself back to Petersburg, accompanied by Ned's Orderly, who returned to Ned with "black Alexander" the same night. I spent the night at Head Quarters of the Division left in Petersburg, with Dr. *Hogan*, whom you once met on the Washington and Acquia Creek boat, I believe, and yesterday P.M. came down here again by rail. Channing Clapp is almost the only one left at this Point whom I know, except General Patrick, to whom Ned gave me a letter of introduction and who is a splendid old fellow every way, as also, being Provost Marshal General, an exceedingly useful acquaintance. I shall try to get up to Richmond today or tomorrow, and see how the abominable old place looks. I only wish you were here too. In fact, I more than half expect to see you turn up, all of a sudden, on board some steamboat, or dock, or about some Head Quarters Office or other. I expect at present to go to Richmond tomorrow, stay there Friday, return here Saturday, and back to New York on Sunday. But of course I may be obliged to vary the program a little. Love to all. Yours truly,

J. C. DALTON.

Colonel Porter, on General Grant's Staff, told me that our forces had killed, wounded, captured and dispersed *over one half* of Lee's Army.

FROM EDWARD B. DALTON.

BURKSVILLE, VA., April 10th, '65.

DEAR CHARLES, — What glorious days are these! What's the use of trying to say anything? How are you all rejoicing? Such a jovial Army as this same old Army of the Potomac is today was never seen before. I have but a moment to write a word. I am quite busy. Our Corps being the rear of the column I was ordered forward by Gen'l Meade to collect and care for all the wounded of the Army. I am foraging all the country round and find it pretty remunerative, in spite of the absolute destitution announced by the proprietors of the various plantations I have visited. Judicious investigation is a great thing. Potatoes, flour, hams, etc., are literally unearthed, and pigs, poultry, sorghum and now and then a calf or sheep emerge from garret and cellar. All is going right. I am first-rate. Who could be anything else?

NED.

Still more glorious. Lee has surrendered with his whole command, and Grant is coming back to City Point. Yours,

NED.

FROM JOHN C. DALTON.

NEW YORK, April 12th, '65.

DEAR NED, — After I left you on the march Monday afternoon I had a most interesting ride back to Petersburg along the moving column of infantry, artillery, mules, wagons, ambulances and last of all the "Cattle brigade" plodding along to be eaten, in the rear. The scene was further diversified by Rogers' disgust when we came to your wagon containing the irreproachable John, "gin out" owing to too much whiskey. It must have been bad to see your wagon cover torn, but worse to feel the loss of confidence in John as a "man and a brother" which could never be regained. I had a good night in Petersburg with Hogan, and was in hopes that Rogers reached you again before your halt, as he started to return immediately on our arrival

when it was not yet dark. Next morning after going about the environs with Hogan to some "Suburban residences" and rebel hospitals, I returned to City Point and afterwards up to Richmond with Kalloch and Faxon. I tell you that was a splendid sight when we rode up Main Street with nothing but ghostly walls and chimneys and piles of broken bricks filling up the cross streets. Your old barber took us to his brother-in-law Schafer's house (half tavern and half lager bier saloon) where we were well taken care of and horses stabled in the back yard. Next day all round the town, to the Capital, J. Davis' house, Richmond Medical College, etc., etc. Kalloch and Faxon went to City Point that P.M. but I remained till next day and had the pleasure of going through Libby Prison, when it [was] as full as it could stick of rebel prisoners. Sunday I left City Point for Washington, in the *State of Maine* with Dr. Finn and arrived here Monday night.

I had a capital time at City Point. Collins and the rest treated me royally. I liked the Surgeon in Charge, too, much, Parker I think by name. An oldish and rather slow Dr. Smith wished me to tell you as soon as I could how much he was indebted to you for saving his life when wounded at Suffolk and for being clever to him generally. . . .

J. C. DALTON.

FROM FRANCIS C. BARLOW.

Head Quarters 2nd Division, May 24, '65.

DEAR CHARLES,—You are truly a valuable friend. I like what you say about Mr. Gaston. Would it be well to write to him or wait until I can see him? Perhaps the latter would be best, after letting him know that I am inclined to the plan.

There is no doubt but that I can stay in the Army with a good rank but that life would never suit me in peace. Grant telegraphed to know if I would go to Texas and Meade wrote that "the offer was made for the purpose of retaining me in the service to be accompanied with a full commission as Major General." But I declined to go. Unless some very active duty about here should be assigned me (such as serving on some important Court or Commission) which might detain me in the service a little longer, I shall leave in a week or so and come to Boston and can then talk with Mr. Gaston. In the meantime will you do in the matter what you think best and let me know

anything new? I have in my eye a place in connection with the Revenue (a sort of inspector's place) where I think I might do some service to the public and at the same time have active employment. I want to be about here until I know something more about that. But do not let any opportunity with Gaston slip. I prefer the law to anything if I can do really well. If I can't see Gaston soon I will correspond with him.

Write to my present address. Please give my warmest thanks to Judge Russell for his interest in my affairs. Affectionately,

FRANCIS C. [BARLOW].

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